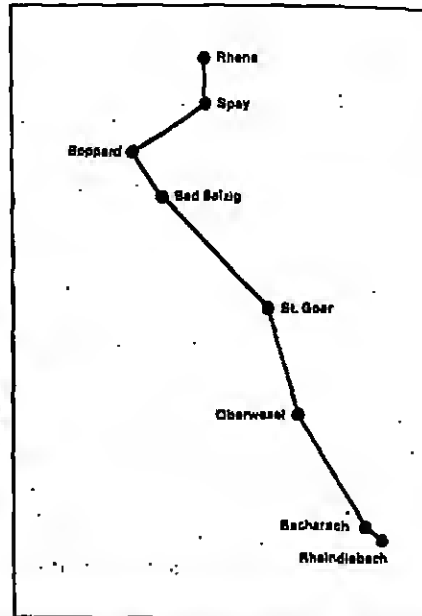


Routes to tour in Germany

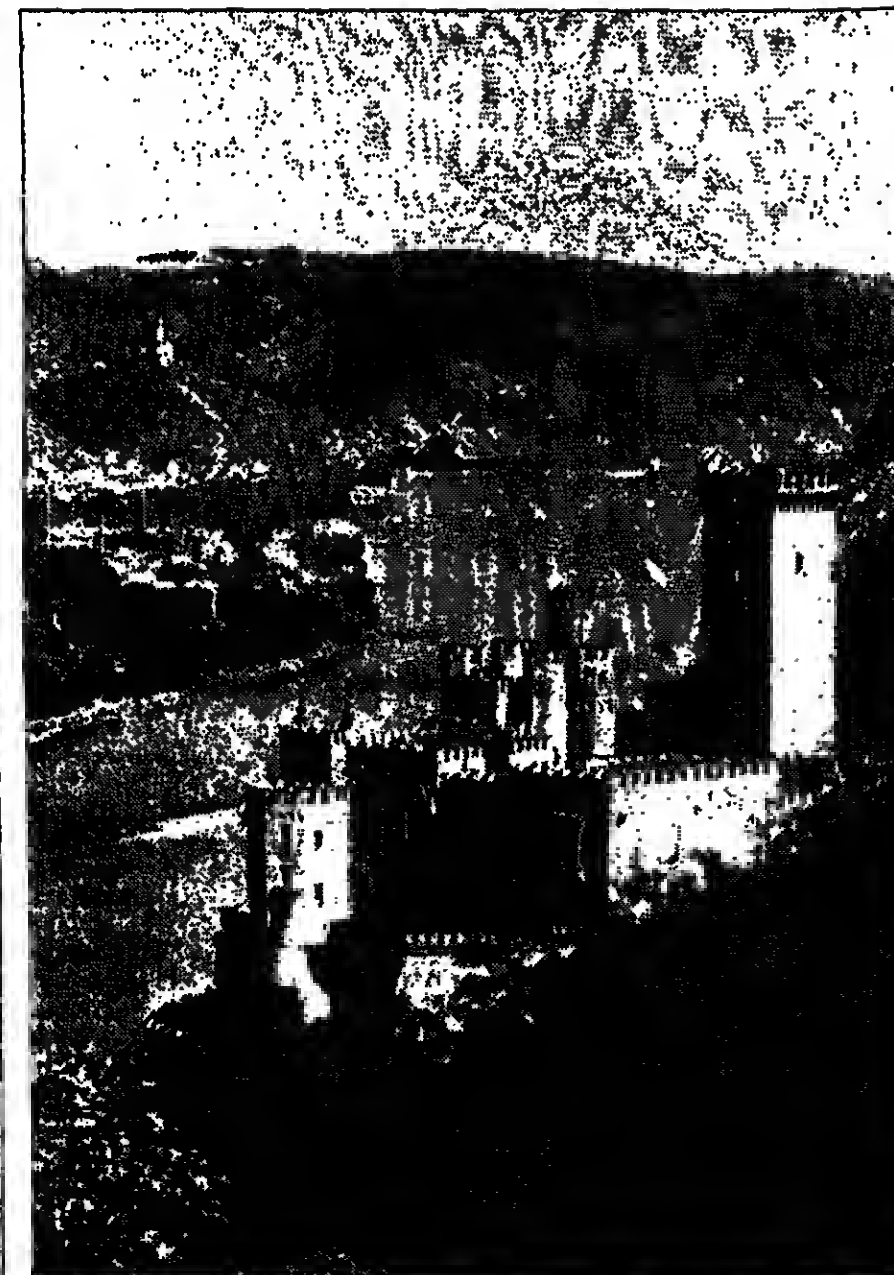
The Rheingold Route



German roads will get you there — to the Rhine, say, where it flows deep in the valley and is at its most beautiful. Castles perched on top of what, at times, are steep cliffs are a reminder that even in the Middle Ages the Rhine was of great importance as a waterway. To this day barges chug up and down the river with their cargoes. For those who are in more of a hurry the going is faster on the autobahn that runs alongside the river. But from Koblenz to

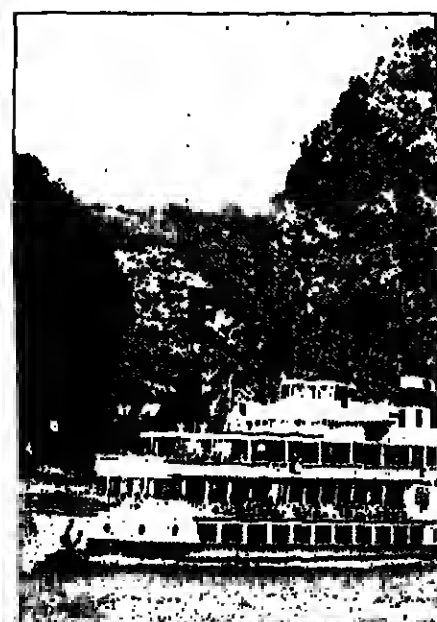
Bingen you must take the Rheingold Route along the left bank and see twice as much of the landscape. Take the chairlift in Boppard and enjoy an even better view. Stay the night at Rheinfels Castle in St Goar with its view of the Loreley Rock on the other side. And stroll round the romantic wine village of Bacharach.

Visit Germany and let the Rheingold Route be your guide.



- 1 Bacharach
- 2 Oberwesel
- 3 The Loreley Rock
- 4 Boppard
- 5 Stolzenfels Castle

DZT DEUTSCHE ZENTRALE FÜR TOURISMUS EV
Bachthovansstrasse 89, D-6000 Frankfurt/M.



The German Tribune

Hamburg, 29 May 1988
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East Bloc clings to old ideas as discontent foams

DIE ZEIT

Discontent is once again seething in Eastern Europe once again. And once again the most turbulent sign of dissatisfaction with the socialist system has erupted in Poland.

As opposed to 1980, however, when many people vented their anger in a wave of strikes and pinned their hopes on the Solidarity movement, the strikes were an act of despair.

Initially, they remained isolated. The population was generally restrained and most workers stayed at work.

There were only a few reports of people hoarding sugar and flour — a sign that nobody really expected the crisis to last long.

However, that was deceptive. Eastern Europe, a safety buffer and colony of the Soviet Union for 40 years, has repeatedly been shaken by unrest.

On four occasions — 1953 in East Germany, 1956 in Poland and Hungary, an 1968 in Czechoslovakia — Soviet troops marched in to restore order.

Again and again troubled regimes hoped that a tough approach would give them a respite. The result, however, was always no more than a breather.

The already shaky pillars of Communist rule in Eastern Europe have become even more unstable during recent years — not only in Poland.

The Communist ideology has lost its appeal. It no longer offers a perspective, its failure is too obvious.

It neither lends legitimacy to those in power nor cohesion to the Communist cadres. It is simply no longer convincing.

Some politicians already openly concede this. The Secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee, Dobrynin, admitted to a Prague magazine in April that the Communist world movement does not provide a "convincing model".

The Communist movement in Eastern Europe has not done so for many years.

The central-planning economic experiment has failed.

All the politburos, planners and party leaders suffered the same fate as the man in the fairy tale who complained to God about the inconsistencies of the weather and who wanted to determine himself when it rains or when the sun shines.

When the harvest came the corn was barren — the man forgot the wind.

Today, all the economies of all East-

ern European countries, some of which once ranked as the most highly developed producers of industrial and agricultural goods, are falling further and further behind.

They can neither satisfy the needs in their own countries nor survive international competition.

The British magazine, *The Economist*, says Eastern Europe's share in trade with western industrialised countries has steadily declined.

The Eastern Europeans had long since been outstripped by newcomers such as Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea and Singapore.

Would they soon be overtaken by India and Indonesia — former industrialised countries surpassed by former developing countries? asked the paper.

In the meantime the political leaders in Eastern Europe have also realised. In many cases before their colleagues in Moscow, that something has to change.

Reforms are needed to modernise economic structures, responsibilities of businesses must be extended, the achievement motivation of workers raised, and the enormous government subsidies reduced.

The decisive political modernisation, however, is still taboo.

The party is clinging on to its decision-making powers. The ordinary citizens who have to face the consequences of these decisions are not to be given a say.

The situation is easier for reformers in Moscow. In the Soviet Union "democratisation" means help from below in order to break the opposition of the party bureaucracy against reforms.

In the East Bloc's European countries, on the other hand, with their memories of the days before Communism, "democratisation" soon snowballs into a much more fundamental question of power.

The people there are not willing to content themselves with just a few rights of consultation. In the light of their historical experience they want real democracy.

This, however, is precisely what the party does not want to give them. In Poland the Solidarity trade union, which repeatedly sought dialogue with the government, was banned and persecuted. Those in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and East Germany, who call for more democracy suffer a similar fate. The party fears a weakening of its power monopoly like the devil fears holy water. It is hoped that reforms can be pushed through with the help of diligent but muzzled workers — a hopeless undertaking. It's hardly surprising that hopes are externally oriented. Some of those allowed to leave the country hope to make a living in the West. The many who want or have to stay pin their hopes on Mikhail Gorbachov in the East, the initiator of *glasnost* and *perestroika*.

The distant hero makes the local rulers look like truly unimaginative apparatchiks. What is more, the grey-haired gentlemen in the Eastern European politburos cannot, as opposed to Gorbachov, blame their predecessors for the problems their countries face today. They caused them themselves, and their possible successors were also involved.

The differences between Poland and the other Eastern European states, therefore, are only slight. Ideological barrenness, material wants, political patronisation and hopes for reform combine in all these countries to form an explosive mixture. As Lech Walesa warned in Danzig:

"If we cannot achieve reforms by peaceful means there is a risk of a revolution, perhaps even a bloody one."

Poliburo member Rakowski agreed on the other side of the fence: in a memorandum to the party leadership last year he wrote that the living conditions in Poland are so bad that the people in a western democracy would rise up in arms in a similar situation.

But what if the people in Eastern Europe one day decide that they've had all they can take, if citizens without hope react to the helplessness of their rulers by venting their anger and despair?

And what if the spark of discontent — allowing for all the differences of local conditions — spreads to several countries at the same time?

If the pent-up disgruntlement in Eastern Europe explodes the impact would shake the whole of Europe.

Yet even less gloomy scenarios are depressing enough.

Mikhail Gorbachov could be forced to once again sent in Soviet tanks against Eastern European demonstrators.



Visitor to Israel

The Bundestag Speaker, Philipp Jenninger (left), greeted by Prime Minister Yitzhak Shemir during a two-day visit to Israel. Israel is celebrating this year the 40th anniversary of its founding. (Photo: dpa)

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Mikhail Gorbachov could be forced to once again sent in Soviet tanks against Eastern European demonstrators.

The reform measures in Moscow and elsewhere would be nipped in the bud by such a setback.

No-one would then talk about comprehensive European arms control, especially since the Red Army would then become increasingly indispensable as a reserve police force.

The wall between East and West, which has just begun to crumble a little, would then be more impenetrable than ever before. The prospects

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■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Afghanistan: Russians pull out leaving a long trail of unsettled questions

At the beginning of this century the British Viceroy of India, Lord Curzon, described the West-Asian region near Persia and Afghanistan as "part of a chess-board, on which the game of who rules the world is being played".

This indicated the region's geopolitical significance. The region, including the Persian Gulf, is still important.

The only difference is that the Russians are now playing against the Americans instead of against the British.

The soldiers of the British Empire, the world power at that time, fought bloody battles on the Hindukush and even once lost an entire expedition army when fleeing from Kabul.

The Soviet troops now pulling out of Afghanistan have also learned the lesson that the Afghans will not yield to the will of a foreign power.

All the generals of the Communist superpower can do now is to try and withdraw with as few losses as possible. For the Russians, who leave behind a devastated country, the "bleeding wound" (Gorbachev) of this unsuccessful military adventure may soon heal.

But when will battered Afghanistan stop bleeding?

Is there now a risk of a further decade of bloodshed and civil war?

The special UN commissioner Diego Cordovez has claimed that the "real objective" of the Afghan peace treaty signed in Geneva is "to enable the Afghans to live together again in peace."

He believes that, as so often in the past, all the talk about impending bloodbaths and a settling of scores underestimates the sense of reality of the people in the Third World.

Discontent

Continued from page 1

for detente would deteriorate for many years and the prospects for a renewal in Eastern European perhaps gambled away for good.

Those who wish to improve prospects in both fields must hope for three things: far-sightedness in the West — for example, Washington should not consider (as is currently the case) dropping support for economic reforms; cleverness in the East — political decision-makers must start realising how essential political freedoms are for the success of reform plans; and, finally, the patience of the people in Eastern Europe, who have reason enough to wish their governments to hell.

But there is a limit to patience. The man who once embodied the hopes of the Polish people told the strikers at the Lenin shipyard in Danzig "I'm tired. You need new Walesas, I'm tired. You need new Walesas, I'm tired."

How long will the workers settle for appeasement and let themselves be bullied?

As long as the regimes, which have failed so often in the past, continue to act as if they know all the answers turbulent times lie ahead — not just for Eastern Europe but for us all.

Christoph Bertram
(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 13 May 1988)

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Cordovez added that nothing keeps a people together as much as its traditions.

Yet one of the special Pashtun traditions in Afghanistan is the code of honour of the Paktoonwali, which demands non-violence and vendettas, some of which have lasted for generations.

Admittedly, a great deal of traditional Afghanistan has been destroyed and the traditional Islamic order will never be restored.

Nine years of revolution and war, the death of hundreds of thousands of people and the uprooting of millions more have destroyed tribal barriers, produced sociological upheavals and created new structures in ethnic groups.

Neither Najibullah's revolutionaries nor the Islamic fundamentalists will allow a return to an Afghanistan with feudal khons and big landowners under the Pashtun elite.

So which group will come out on top? Several scenarios are conceivable.

In the most far-reaching case, the regime of the Communist satraps col-

The Vienna negotiations on conventional disarmament, which are decisively important to the future of East-West relations, have made considerable headway.

A second set of negotiations with major international significance is taking place in Geneva: the talks on a drastic reduction of the nuclear destructive potential of long-range missiles.

The atmosphere at these negotiations has seldom been so matter-of-fact and cooperative as in recent months.

The negotiating partners from the western delegations all refer to the seriousness of efforts by East Bloc delegates to reach an agreement.

In Vienna optimism emanates from the two-track talks within the CSCE Conference on Human Rights and on the setting up of a conference on conventional arms limitation in Europe.

In Geneva the consultations on nuclear test agreements, the limitation of chemical weapons and the reduction of strategic arms (Start) have made reasonable progress.

One reason is the cooperativeness shown by the Soviet side, which previously had simply reiterated well-worn attacks.

In the "realm of evil", or so it would seem, thousands of flowers are blooming in the field of disarmament and the West is finding it difficult to keep up with the picking.

Of course, the situation is not quite that easy, even though in the past the Soviet Union has cleverly understood how to make Washington and its NATO allies look like hesitant kill-joys.

This is why Brussels awaits now image-boosting proposals by Moscow with some trepidation, since the alliance often finds it difficult to agree on how to respond.

There have been enough examples of this in the past and plenty are likely to follow in the future.

lapses after a short while in the face of the pressure by the mujahedin following the withdrawal of Soviet troops.

American visitors in Kabul feel that there are already symptoms of decay resembling the "dying regimes" of Nguyen Van Thieu in South Vietnam or of the dictator Somoza in Nicaragua.

However, the Afghan resistance is not a united liberation movement. It lacks a charismatic leader such as Ho Chi Minh.

Even in the event of a rapid collapse this would probably lead to a radical upheaval and to a fundamentalist Islamic republic.

It is doubtful whether the Pakistanis would then be able to retain the influence they now have on extremists such as Gulbuddin Heckmatyar.

The Pashtun Heckmatyar, the main beneficiary of American military aid, has already upset Islamabad with his visions of an Afghan-Pakistani confederation which, once established, should turn its attention to the "liberation" of the Moslem brothers in the south of the Soviet Union.

A Lebanon-style development is also conceivable: a Communist-controlled north and a mujahedin-controlled south.

A number of regional commanders

Arms talks progress, but doubts about political motives remain

Frankfurter Rundschau

At the moment, however, prospects for agreement are good.

In Vienna there is a tacit agreement to link the granting of a mandate for negotiations on conventional arms to progress in the field of human rights.

This requirement was also tacitly accepted by Moscow. An agreement is expected to be reached in the summer.

The Soviet side has unofficially confirmed that the improvement of human rights lies in the interest of the democratic restructuring of the Soviet Union.

This development is cause for optimism, even though it is still not clear how long the tricky disarmament negotiations will last.

There are still substantial differences of opinion on the exact definitions of a balance of power and conventional stability.

Negotiations in Geneva, where both sides agree that a finalisation of the Start agreement before the summit at the end of May is unrealistic, are also moving in the right direction.

The negotiating partners have eliminated the unnecessary pressure of a deadline, a move which is bound to have a beneficial effect on talks between experts.

The wording of the agreement will probably be so watertight that even the US Congress, with its domestic policy considerations and East Bloc policy biases, will be unable to side-step ratification.

of the "religious warriors", who broke with the mafia of the resistance alliance in Peshawar and already control roughly a third of Afghanistan, might then try to establish semi-autonomous fiefdoms.

Although it cannot be ruled out that the Soviet Union might safeguard a revolutionary separatist state in the north of the country via its own troops, as a buffer zone at its southern border, this seems unlikely.

Such renewed assistance would destroy the foreign policy propaganda effect of Gorbachev's withdrawal gesture.

Kabul's ruler Najibullah may be able to ward off a general attack by Allah's warriors, even though the pressure on his revolutionary citadel will continue.

The could lead to a lengthy process of negotiation between the Afghans themselves, during which even current "outsiders", such as the ex-monarch Zahir Shah, again play a role.

Following a proposal by Cordovez the Americans and Russians are expected to be keen on a "centrist" interim government in Kabul which is not controlled by any one side.

Such coalition concepts are currently dismissed by the mujahedin, in particular the fundamentalists.

Yet even among the religious resistance fighters there are many who wish to spare their country further bloodbaths and who know that the majority of Afghans, inside and outside of the country, are weary of battle.

Olaf Ihlan

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 16 May 1988)

■ HOME AFFAIRS

CDU: no panic after election earthquake

The CDU's heavy loss in Schleswig-Holstein this month when it went out of office after 38 years and dropped nearly 10 per cent of the vote, has significance for all parties. But, as Walter Bajohr reports for the Bonn weekly, *Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt*, the reactions have been far from panicky.

The attitude of the CDU in Bonn after the Schleswig-Holstein debacle was shoulder-shrugging. There was no sign that any political earthquake had set the seismographs moving.

And although the SPD was clearly pleased, having come back into power after so long and with an absolute majority, there was no feeling of triumph in the SPD headquarters in the capital — at most the feeling was of relief at the fact that the party is back on the winning road after being battered for so long.

Only the FDP seemed nervous and on edge (it was thrown out of the assembly because it failed to poll the 5 per cent of the votes needed to qualify), although even it did seem able to stomach the shock.

Does this mean that the Schleswig-Holstein election, which produced a sensational shift in the power structure there, in the final analysis irrelevant for the balance of power in Bonn?

Yes, would probably say many who view the result as first and foremost a reaction to the Barchel affair. But that is an oversimplification.

On election day evening Chancellor Helmut Kohl gave an assurance that he was still very optimistic about his party's chances in the general election (in 1990) despite Schleswig-Holstein.

Nevertheless, the impression remains that he is paying too little attention to the gradually declining confidence in the abilities of the Bonn government.

Didn't the CDU in fact already lose power in Schleswig-Holstein during the election there last September?

Even before the extent of the Barchel affair became clear the CDU lost a great deal of traditionally strong backing in this *Land*, even though its policies there were by no means bad.

It was obvious that federal issues, such as the coalition dispute in Bonn and the confused reform proposals, already had an influence.

In September many of the voters who usually vote for the CDU decided either not to go to the polls at all or to vote for the FDP.

This time the CDU lost over 100,000 votes to the SPD. The psephologists pointed out that the process of estrangement between voters and political parties takes a long time to develop and that the vote for the rival party represents the final step in that process.

In the 1983 general election the SPD was the victim of this.

Since then there has been evidence of new trends in the *Land* elections; the CDU and CSU are no longer the beneficiaries.

The loss of long-term support is the really dangerous trend for a party in government.

Not only voters in the political middle ground respond to unpopular poli-

cies, but also more and more of the convinced party supporters.

This must be food for thought for Chancellor Kohl with an eye to the 1990 general election.

If the SPD had a leading candidate in Bonn with a kind of popularity of Björn Engholm in Schleswig-Holstein, the situation would look a lot different today.

This does not mean that the Bonn coalition is seriously in danger of losing its majority.

It does, however, mean that this majority is guaranteed by the weakness of the other parties rather than by the strengths of one's own policies.

The outcome of the Schleswig-Holstein election will confirm the opinion expressed by CDU business manager Heiner Geissler that the party's primary objective should not be to satisfy voters on the right-wing fringe, but to step up efforts to attract the voters in the political centre.

Engholm owes his success to support by the latter.

Providing his own party doesn't make the business of government too difficult for him in its left-wing overexuberance he seems likely to maintain their support for some time to come.

However, the fact that Engholm characterised the SPD in Schleswig-Holstein as a left-wing people's party immediately after the election and as a party which is not interested in contending with the CDU for the support of the political centre does come as a surprise.

Was Premier-elect Engholm in fact a wolf in sheep's clothing during the election campaign?

SPD leader Hans-Jochen Vogel in any case is careful when he advises his

party to study the path to success in Schleswig-Holstein in order to learn for the future.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl now has to face up to the fact that some of the mainstays in his cabinet have taken some hard knocks.

Bonn Finance Minister and chairman of the Schleswig-Holstein CDU, Gerhard Stoltenberg, used to be one of the government's big numbers.

Now, however, he is no longer one of the Chancellor's trump cards.

The Barchel affair and the problems over the tax reform have damaged Stoltenberg's reputation.

What is more, his name is now associated with the burden of a catastrophic election result.

The sooner Stoltenberg rids himself of this burden the better, both for his own reputation and for the reconstruction of the completely shattered CDU in Schleswig-Holstein.

His initial reaction, however, does not exactly indicate that he accepts this necessity.

He wants to carry on, arguing that his task is to prevent a split in the Schleswig-Holstein CDU.

Does Stoltenberg perhaps believe that he is still the big integrator, who cannot step down for fear that the party would tear itself to pieces without him?

If he does, the chairman must have done a lot of things wrong in the past.

Heiko Hoffmann, who nobly led the CDU into the debacle and now heads a much smaller parliamentary party group in the Kiel state assembly, can hardly carry out a far-reaching renewal of the CDU and at the same time spare Gerhard Stoltenberg of all people.

Continued on page 4

An effort to re-assert party's role in foreign affairs

The new man in Chancellor Kohl's Cabinet, Defence Minister Rupert Scholz, will help strengthen the CDU's image in the field of foreign policy. It is important that he does, as Udo Bergdoll reports for *Süddeutsche Zeitung*.

Helmut Kohl has developed a reputation for having an excellent feel for political problems which might damage his chancellorship.

After it became clear in the wake of the Chernobyl nuclear disaster that the Interior Minister was unable to cover up the government's environmental policy shortcomings, he created the post of Environment Minister to show that the government took people's fears seriously.

He satisfied an immediate need and, with the help of the right man at the right time, helped make sure that the CDU won the election in Lower Saxony.

Discussion about the double zero arms solution confirms Kohl with a different need.

The conservative CDU/CSU union suffers from the fact that the senior coalition partner is dominated by the junior partner (the FDP) in the foreign and security policy field.

The public associates foreign policy with Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, a Free Democrat, not with Helmut Kohl.

It is 22 years since the CDU had a Foreign Minister and the party's perceived competence in this field has gradually declined.

The misjudgement that the European nuclear powers, France and Britain, could be mobilised against the interests of the USA and the Soviet Union was the height of this decline.

A book edited by the CDU/CSU foreign policy spokesman, Volker Rühe, which presents the opinions of a "new generation", is rightly entitled "The Challenge of Foreign Policy".

The new man in Helmut Kohl's cabinet, Manfred Wörner's successor as Defence Minister, Rupert Scholz, will help strengthen the conservative union's weak foreign policy flank and give it a more distinct profile.

The Chancellor wants to emancipate himself from his Foreign Minister, especially since the relationship between the two is in a very bad way — despite denials to the contrary motivated by the need to foster the image of a united coalition.

Chancellor Kohl's foreign policy advisers in the Bonn Chancellery have done a good job; but they never stood a chance against the old hand in the Foreign Office.

It was a mistake to speculate that the Chancellor would, in the end, get the credit of foreign policy successes.

This misjudgement was the cause of the own goal scored by the conservative union in the last general election campaign by claiming that the post of Foreign Minister might change hands.

Kohl was unable to count on Manfred Wörner here since he only allowed himself to be identified with the problems of the Bundeswehr.

During Wörner's period in office, or so it seemed, security policy was exclusively left to the Foreign Office.

The new Defence Minister Rupert Scholz will be trying to make up lost ground. Kohl has picked a man who will have no trouble being supported by Franz Josef Strauss, but who is unquestioningly loyal to the Chancellor.

His appointment will, at least for the time being, cushion pressure from the

CSU to nail more conservative colours to the mast of government policy.

CSU leader Strauss will undoubtedly approve of the fact that Scholz will also agree with those who forward the theory that there can be no real disarmament without reunification.

Scholz is able to find arguments justifying this theory and at the same time receives compliments from people with completely different political convictions that it is an intellectual pleasure to take part in discussions with him.

Of course, the new Defence Minister has no intention of being instrumentalised in any campaign against the Foreign Minister.

This would presuppose that Kohl wants a completely different operative foreign policy, which can more or less be ruled out. It is hoped that Scholz will make a more conservative mark on foreign policy.

This would automatically reduce the weight of Genscher's influence and eventually cut the ground from under his feet.

Anyone who agrees with Scholz, for example, that Mikhail Gorbachev is only interested in a breather and will probably step up the arms race again afterwards has no choice but to regard Genscher as an illusionist.

Although Scholz is by no means against disarmament he also fails to see why fixed fee images need to be dismantled.

He is an expert in conceptualising even German-national sentiment in such a noble way as to remove dusty associations and without compromising himself intellectually.

Scholz can at least explain pragmatic politics to those conservative politicians who found it difficult to understand why the East German anthem was played in Bonn during the chancellorship of a CDU Chancellor.

The new Defence Minister attaches great importance to continuity in foreign and security policies.

In doing so, however, he does not relate to the beginning of the Ostpolitik, but to the Adenauer era.

He does not feel that the idea of a continuation of the German Reich should be completely forgotten.

These ideas are again in demand ever since the conservative union's rightwing fringe began to crumble.

The shock over Le Pen's success in France makes it advisable to incorporate such rightwing ideas into the general body of conservative thought before it's too late.

When Genscher remarks that the Chancellor's appointment of Scholz was an "excellent decision" one senses that Genscher is handling his first real opposite number in the foreign policy field with kid gloves.

Udo Bergdoll

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 5 May 1988)

Continued from page 2

ever, cannot disguise the fact that the desire of people in East and West for proper disarmament is only shared to a limited extent by politicians and the military on both sides.

The *de facto* agreement on a modernisation of short-range missiles by Nato and the unbroken conventional armament in the Warsaw Pact reinforce suspicions that the actual intention is not to reduce the levels of offensive potential at all, but merely to secure a restructuring of the existing destructive arms arsenal.

Jörg Reckmann

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 16 May 1988)

The Bonn Minister of Economic Affairs, Martin Bangemann, has confirmed that he intends making himself available for selection as President of the European Commission. Bangemann, 53, who is also chairman of the FDP, made the announcement in a television interview. It seems that Bangemann would first take over one of two posts on the Commission filled by Germans. He would then try for the Presidency, which is held by a Frenchman, Jacques Delors. One candidate to succeed Bangemann as party leader, but probably not as a minister, is Count Otto Lambsdorff, Bangemann's predecessor at the Economic Affairs Ministry.

A big FDP worry continues to be whether its leader, Martin Bangemann, who is also Bonn Minister for Economic Affairs, will go to Brussels.

Bangemann is understandably displeased with the quarrelling within the coalition which links his party to the CDU/CSU conservative union. He is by nature more a mediator than a fighter. Circumstances were responsible for him getting the party chairmanship. He never aspired to it.

Jacques Delors, President of the European Commission for four years, wants another term. He will get the support of most Community governments.

Delors' goal is to a single European market without borders and it is this which has given the concept of community unity an ever increasing momentum.

Continued from page 3

Or does Stoltenberg himself intend assuming the role of renewer? Good friends will hopefully give him the right advice.

His ministerial colleague in Bonn, Economics Minister Martin Bangemann (FDP), is one of the cabinet members whose image has suffered as a result of the election outcome in Schleswig-Holstein.

Bangemann always countered doubts about his competence as leader of the FDP by pointing out that under his responsibility the FDP had managed, with the exception of Bavaria, to move into all Länder parliaments. This is now no longer true.

Even Bangemann must now accept the fact that votes are no longer cast for the FDP on its own merit.

Only those voters who feel that the FDP can serve a specific function, whether as a means of checking radical policies or giving a coalition a majority, help give the FDP the five per cent of the vote it needs for parliamentary representation.

Most members of the FDP still refuse to accept this fact. They still believe in a "liberal mission", whatever that may be.

After Schleswig-Holstein the atmosphere in the Bonn coalition will be even more icy.

Leftwing Liberals are already demanding a "calculated conflict" with the leading FDP politicians in Bonn. Bangemann is not at all keen on this.

The accusations that he is too compromising towards the conservative parties have become louder.

Hardly anyone now doubts that Bangemann will be turning his back on Bonn as fast as possible, probably moving to Brussels. Chancellor Kohl would then have to reshuffle the cabinet.

Apart from the cabinet the political cards in Bonn will also have to be reshuffled.

Kohl may not necessarily be the player holding the trump cards when the general election comes round in 1990.

Walter Bajohr
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt,
Bonn, 13 May 1988)

PEOPLE IN POLITICS

Minister to resign in bid for top job at European Commission

The Frenchman played a decisive role in giving Spain and Portugal community membership and in the passing of the European Act.

If the European Parliament is ever able to select the President of the European Commission — which is a future democratisation process in the Community could provide for — Delors would get an overwhelming majority.

It's probably because of this that Bangemann has not denied public speculation that he wants to swap his post as Economic Affairs Minister for a job as a plenipotentiary in Brussels.

Chancellor Kohl could have cleared up a matter like this in the coalition a long time ago — which would have relieved the FDP.

It's not clear why the CDU would forgo the post of deputy President of the European Commission, which up till now has been occupied by Karl-Heinz Narjes, if Bangemann were to become President of the Commission.

Peter Schmidhuber, CDU commissioner, is probably not in the running, because he only replaced the former Commissioner, the late Alois Pfeiffer (SPD) last autumn.

Yet in Bonn speculation is that Bangemann could be in line first for the job as the President's deputy and then relieve Delors two years later.

Indeed the members of the commission, with "agreement" of the 12 governments, are nominated for four years. The President of the commission and the six deputies are formally only for two years.

Vice presidents relinquish their positions early on account of domestic party constellations or rotation agreements between the commissioners of the small

EEC countries. Presidents are not normally reduced to a Commissioner.

As first among equals, the President has enough on his plate trying to get the collective decisions of the 17-man board onto a straight course.

If the designated "Crown Prince" were to join the Commission, it would make it even more difficult for the team leader. The German government would be well advised to distance itself from such plans; and Bangemann should also.

Otherwise there would be conflicts in which he occasionally would either have to support Delors in the Commission counsel against his own principles, or expose himself to speculation about begrudging his predecessor's successes.

The question is why all the intrigue between Bangemann, the Chancellor and the coalition. Rumour has it that not even Delors himself thinks that President Mitterrand will make him prime minister after the parliamentary elections in France.

On the other hand, Delors has taken into account in various matters special German problems with economic integration policy in the last three and a half years.

Undoubtedly not because he particularly likes the Germans or their government, but because he has correctly assessed the Federal Republic's importance.

If Kohl's national pride requires Germany to have the posts of NATO secretary general (Manfred Wörner) and President of the Commission — after Walter Hallstein from 1958 to 67, he ought to have done something about it before.

But this would not serve German interests. Particularly a German president



Negotiating ability... Martin Bangemann.
(Photo: Wetz)

would have to guard against national partiality, because Germany is the economically dominant member.

Since Bangemann has specialist knowledge from his stint as head of the liberals in the European parliament and has proven his negotiating charm as a minister in Brussels, nobody doubts he could make an outstanding member of the commission.

It's purely a coalition matter whether he gets the deputy president's title. Bangemann would probably cut a good figure as member of the commission precisely because some of the outstanding EEC commissioners like Lord Cockfield (domestic market)

Willy de Clercq (foreign affairs), Peter Sutherland (competition) and Henning Christophersen (finance) will probably not be reappointed because of political circumstances respectively in Britain, Belgium, Ireland and Denmark.

If the political situation in Bonn stays the same he could probably become president in four years.

Erich Hauser
Frankfurter Rundschau, 17 May 1988

A sharp tongue and a hatred of jargon



Tough treasury job... Hilda Simonis.
(Photo: Sven Simon)

reason why politicians are wary of her tongue. Her repartee is razor sharp and sometimes misfires.

She often regrets things she says. Last year Willy Brandt had appointed a

young Greek woman as SPD spokeswoman. Simonis made some disparaging remarks. Her left-wing colleagues accused her of lacking solidarity. Later, she backtracked in public.

But one remark she made in connection with the spokesman affair, that "Brandt should avoid making mistakes which might hasten his departure," has not been forgotten. But she did not mean this to be aggressively directed at Brandt. She still admires him. It was a statement more fueled by disappointed admiration than anything else.

Brandt has now gone. She did add at least some momentum to his going. The episode taught her that silence can have its advantages. The ministerial post means she will have to be more reserved regardless of how difficult she might find it.

Simonis was first included in the SPD Kiel shadow cabinet eight years ago, so she very nearly became a Cabinet minister then.

She is not a born northern light. She grew up in Bonn where her father was employed at the Federal Labour Department. She took her degree in Kiel. Later she worked for Zambia Airways in Lusaka and after that went to Japan, where she worked for the Goethe Institute and Triumph International.

She returned to Kiel and worked as a career adviser. She got experience of politics as a councillor in Kiel's town hall.

Sten Martensen
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 14 May 1988)

PERSPECTIVE

Germany, Europe and America: their roles in a new Atlantic structure

During a conference on the question of how to redefine the relationship between defensive capability and arms control following the American-Soviet agreement to eliminate land-based medium-range missile systems one American speaker suggested that the real problem is German credibility.

The claim triggered some adamant protest — but was it disproved? Germany's geographical situation and history make the region a fulcrum of the European system.

Adenauer's renunciation of the use of nuclear force in 1954 and the subordination to the non-proliferation regime in 1968 are international political parameters.

There is more external military and ideological pressure on this country than on others.

Finally, the defence of the Federal Republic of Germany and its destruction lie dangerously close together in an emergency situation.

Do the Germans lack credibility? The former Italian ambassador in Bonn, Count Ferrari, recently wrote about a widespread "longing for hysteria" in the Federal Republic of Germany.

He meant a lack of composure and advised the Germans to develop greater optimism, self-confidence, dialogue with history, tolerance and healthy scepticism.

Although such criticism must be taken seriously it should not be forgotten that the "new German restlessness" is a response to movements which, on the whole, take place beyond German borders and beyond the German sphere of influence.

The German situation in the heart of Europe has been determined since the catastrophes of this century by the fact that the Germans on the one side are located on the eastern fringe of the western system and the Germans on the other side on the western fringe of the eastern system.

Berlin remains the international political knot dangling over the German Question and the European situation.

The "new departures" in the Soviet system remain ambiguous.

As under Peter the Great and Alexander II an effort is being made to catch up with western technology and its developmental thrust, at the same time turning a fossilised empire into the world power of the 21st century.

The United States presents itself as the overburdened leading Atlantic power.

Like Atlas, it would like to place the burden of the world on someone else's shoulders, but it's not clear how and on whose.

Europe still needs the American shield of "extended deterrence".

It is the ultimate guarantee for European security.

This, however, requires that America possesses the political will to stake its own existence if need be for the sake of peace in Europe.

Its worries tell it that Europe is a long way away, should be taking care of itself, and, what is more, is one reason for America's economic malaise.

Its sense of reason tells it that the Atlantic system is the centre of the world's political stability, that America would no longer be the leading world power

without Europe, that America's defence begins at the Elbe, and that it wouldn't be possible to hold on to Europe long without Germany.

In reality, the *incertitudes allemandes* are also the uncertainties of world politics, as in the past their point of intersection is Germany.

The fundamental decision of the late 1940s, when the internal constitution of freedom in this country was based on the external constitution of the western alliance, needs to be reaffirmed.

What General de Gaulle said in his cabinet in 1958, namely that the work of a mind-doctor was needed, probably reflected Adenauer's assessment of the situation too.

During the first post-war decade prosperity, security and rehabilitation was given to the Germans "on credit", and it took a long time before German politics and Adenauer's efforts assumed the role of subject rather than object.

When the Federal Republic of Germany was founded in 1949 three main factors determined world politics: the globalisation of politics, the bipolarity of power, and the fact that the struggle for the shape and the shaping of Germany and Europe was redefined in the context of nuclear weapons.

At that time the architecture of the world in which we now live evolved. America was in league with progress, the mighty dollar, and the atomic bomb.

Bipolarity has remained, but is being relativised every day. The globalisation of the world has been completed, but is no longer controllable.

As regards nuclear weapons, the remark made by Raymond Aron still holds true: "America can longer guarantee peace."

However, if America today is no longer able to guarantee peace then it is this task which politically and psychologically decides the continued existence or disintegration of the Atlantic alliance. The key to a new Atlantic structure is above all in American and German hands.

If the key is turned in the same direction a system of Atlantic stability will be created which will also exert a decisive influence on East-West and North-South relations in the 21st century; if it is turned in opposite directions everything will be in a state of uncertainty.

The long truce with history will cease to exist, and the end is not in sight.

The time for this decision to be made is not far off.

The German interest is to obtain clarity about its own situation, match convictions and interests, and correspondingly confirm the priorities which shape life in the Federal Republic of Germany: the internal and external affiliation to the Atlantic alliance; the key political and economic role in Western Europe; and the continuing responsibility far Deutschlandpolitik and European Ostpolitik.

As regards the first aspect, there are reasons for the American unwillingness to assume the role of lender: an overstrained budget, a lopsided foreign trade balance, and the burden of worldwide nuclear-power responsibilities.

No European country alone can seriously relieve the USA of these burdens. In unison, however, this is possible and essential.

Part of the new distribution of burdens must be the nuclear structure of European security after the double-zero agreement.

Anyone who ignores the role of nuclear weapons for the prevention of war, in Europe and elsewhere, pins exaggerated hopes on mankind's good nature and the self-discipline of the Soviet empire and is willing to accept the end of the long nuclear peace of the post-war period.

It is a fact worth pondering over that nuclear weapons are not being employed to control violence in any of the 25 wars currently being waged throughout the world. This has been true for 43 years. The primary objective must be to come to terms with the existence of nuclear weapons, which is why sensible agreements and self-discipline are needed.

Trying to rid Europe of its threat is not only utopian, but also presupposes a policy which does not exist.

Guaranteed defensive capability in the West and openness towards the East are mutually exclusive not mutually contradictory.

Both are part of stability. Both must become part of an urgently needed overall concept, via which the West protects its unity and at the same time engages the Soviet Union in productive negotiations.

The allies support this, not German *go-it-alones*, and certainly not German *Sonderwege*.

And those who would like to make the organic links with Western Europe contingent upon existential provisos, and turn the European union into a limited liability institution with a German right to opt for neutralism if it sees fit, has forgotten a great deal about the past and will be unable to meet the challenges of the future.

They either hope that the Soviet Union will resign as a world power, which is unlikely, or they expect a paralysation of Western Europe — which is within the scope of German possibilities but hardly in the German interest.

The German interest remains never to stand alone. Anyone who doubts this should take a look at the map of the world.

Michael Stürmer
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, 10 May 1988)

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FINANCE

After Black Friday: signs that some lessons still have not been learnt

Six months after the stock market crash on Black Monday, 19 October last year, there is still disagreement about cause and, to some extent, effect.

While some conjure up the warning signs of 1929 and want to draw parallels between what happened last year and the events at the end of the 1920s, others are sounding the all-clear. There will not be a second 1929.

F. Wilhelm Christiana, the (since retired) chief executive of Deutsche Bank, said with some relief at a press conference: "It is now 162 days since Black Monday and everything is behind us."

The recuperation phase after Black Friday in 1929 lasted 155 days. Only then did the drop in share prices begin to right themselves. They ended at a 10 per cent of the market value before Black Friday. The stock exchanges have been spared this phase this time round.

Black Monday taught financial markets that they should disabuse themselves of the long-held idea that it could never happen again.

Experts on both sides have learned this: the optimists such as Christiana and the people who always see the black side, such as notorious pessimist Paul C. Martin and former banker Philipp von Bethmann.

Events such as 1929 can repeat themselves. This anxiety could not shake stock exchange experts so long as comparisons with 1929 seemed to be far-fetched.

RHEINISCHER MERKUR

Limited activity on international stock exchanges, recovery that continues to flag and the market price fluctuations on stock markets from one day to the next cause investors to feel uneasy. It cools their enthusiasm for long-term involvement in the stock market.

Will such a drastic decline on the stock markets, well known as anticipating economic developments, have no effects on the economy?

There have been 12, less dramatic, stock market crashes on Wall Street since 1929 and in nine instances they were followed by a recession in the United States.

The latest crash seems to have been different in economic effects from all the others. In America the economy is rattling along more briskly than many people would like it to do because of the danger of inflation.

Increasing raw materials prices have not had the deflationary effect many said they would have.

In Japan a package of economic measures has been drawn up to give new impetus to economic growth.

In the Federal Republic consumer indicators and the inflow of orders seem

to point towards economic developments that are apparently more favourable than was generally expected.

Developments have even made up for the horrendous price losses sustained on some stock exchanges.

In Frankfurt, according to the FAZ Index (produced by the daily *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*) shares are being quoted at 26 per cent below the pre-crash level. But in Tokyo shares have again surpassed the record levels achieved just before the crash.

And Spain, the major stock exchange discovery of 1986/1987, has got back to just a few percentage points below the levels at the time of the crash.

But this is no reason to get down to business as usual. Such a careless attitude, less apparent in the Federal Republic than in other countries, is dangerous.

Some public pronouncements seem to indicate that the early warning system of the stock exchanges has been forgotten already.

The private investor, who has a reputation for always doing the wrong thing, seems to be doing the right thing this time. He is coming back to the stock exchange in a much more thoughtful frame of mind.

But ultimately the trend will be set not in Frankfurt but in New York, Tokyo and London. The question is whether common sense has returned there.

Nicholas Brady, appointed by President Reagan to a commission to investigate the causes of the crash, recently expressed scepticism on this point. Before the Senate's Banking Committee Brady said that at the moment he did not expect a repetition of the crash.

But he then added: "I mean, that it could recur, perhaps in 18 months' to two years' time, if the lessons of 19 October begin to fade."

The reasons for this scepticism are understandable. Five commissions in the US have been involved in investigating the causes of the crash and have named the supposed culprits, for it obviously was triggered off in America.

Little action

Major investors, who sold in the crash, computer dealing, the institutional weaknesses of Wall Street even and futures trading in Chicago have all been made out to be the main causes of the debacle.

But not much has happened, at least nothing that is obviously effective.

The New York Stock Exchange has decided to decouple programmed trading by computerised ordering systems when the Dow Jones Index moves up or down 50 points to avoid violent stock price movements.

Nevertheless only a little while ago, on 14 April, there was a loss of 101.26 points, the fifth largest decline in prices in Wall Street's history.

Brokers did cut off computers, and orders to sell were handled manually, a ponderous method but effective. This appeared in the strong price rate fluctuations.

So far nothing has come of the recommendation for the New York Stock Exchange, where shares are traded, to

cooperate with the Chicago Mercantile Exchange, where index contracts are quoted.

The Chicago Mercantile Exchange decided at the end of March to reduce from 30 to 15 points the maximum permitted daily spread of the Standard & Poors index contracts.

But these measures did not prevent the strong decline in prices sustained on 14 April.

While the American examination of their conscience ended with the attempt to provide explanations that are based in US trade, the London stock exchange's investigations saw the situation in a simpler light.

The investigation commission stated that London, "as a derivative market," had no guilt.

The computer trading system, introduced in the Big Bang in October 1986, proved that there was no need for reforms of a major nature, according to Nicholas Goodison, chairman of the London Stock Exchange, summarising the commission's findings.

It was certainly no accident that the Japanese came through the crash the best. The worst was avoided by the concerted action of the Central Bank, Finance Ministry, brokers and bankers, insurance companies and trust funds.

The insurance companies and trust funds followed the requests of the Central Bank to buy shares. Such solidarity was shown nowhere else.

In the US, for example, the General Motors pension fund contributed considerably to the sharp tumble in prices by selling \$1.1bn of stocks — contrary to the company's slogan: "What is good for General Motors is good for the country."

According to the experts the German stock exchanges conducted themselves well. Other exchanges, such as the Hong Kong Stock Exchange, were closed for a week so as to interrupt the strong pressure to sell. Wall Street shortened trading hours for several days.

The German exchanges, on the other hand, extended trading hours so that all who wanted to do so had the opportunity to get out of the market.

Foreign investors made good use of this opportunity, with the consequence that the German stock exchanges were proven to be technically good, but this meant they had to sustain the largest price losses.

From the beginning of October until the end of last year the FAZ index showed a loss of 33 per cent.

As usual no-one has looked at the obvious in attempts to explain the crash. Computer and programme trading can accelerate a downturn phase, but they are not in a position to unleash such a sharp tumble in prices. Limiting programmed trading means no more than curing the symptoms.

The question of whether quotations worldwide were not excessive has not been examined by any investigative commission.

Two economists from Cornell University, Avner Arbel and Steven Carvell, writing in the *Harvard Business Review*, came to the conclusion that American shares (1,800 were considered) were overvalued by 17 per cent before the crash.

The 39 leading industrial stocks closed on 19 October one per cent above their realistic value.

Arbel's comment was: "There was method to the market's madness."

Leo Fischer (Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 29 April 1988)

THE MOTOR INDUSTRY

The Seat of the matter: VW's wheel in the Spanish market begins to turn

Volkswagen's share of the European car market rose to 15.1 per cent last year compared with 14.7 per cent in 1986. The group made an overall profit of 598 million marks (580 million in 1986), despite losses of 739 million by the overseas subsidiaries. The Wolfsburg plant in Germany produced 2,771,379 vehicles, just 0.2 per cent fewer than the record year in 1986. The Spanish subsidiary, Seat, was the most improved performer of the group. It heavily reduced its loss-making performance of 1986 and is now running at a profit, although it will again show a loss for 1987. Wuttke reports on the VW annual report for the *Bonn weekly, Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt*.

Volkswagen is moving confidently into its sixth decade of car production in Europe, according to the annual report by the chief executive, Carl H. Hahn.

He said the group is systematically shaping up for even stiffer competition in future, particularly in view of the 1992 deadline for a Europe free of trade barriers.

He says the pace of technological change will accelerate. Last year, the group pursued a policy designed to iron out weak points and move into new fields of business last year.

Volkswagen is already the most popular make of car in Europe for the third year running.

Its share of the market last year was 15.1 per cent compared with 14.7 per cent in 1986.

The group's European subsidiaries are having no trouble making a profit and contributed substantially to the group's overall profit figure of DM598m (1986: DM580m) the overseas subsidiaries are still losing money.

Group turnover in 1987 was DM54.635bn. The losses of the subsidiaries in Brazil, Argentina (where Volkswagen has set up the Autolatina with Ford to help reduce the deficit), the USA and Mexico total DM739m.

The end of North American production in Westmoreland accounted for the lion's share of this figure, namely DM572m.

In both South and North America Volkswagen also suffered a sales drop of 200,000 cars.

The group's headquarters in Wolfsburg above all owes the fact that it was nevertheless able to produce 2,771,379 cars — only 0.2 per cent down on the record 1986 performance) to the success of Volkswagen, Audi and Seat in Europe.

Seat is the outstanding performer in 1987. Following a loss of DM419m in 1986 Seat was able to reduce the deficit to just DM74m last year and has been making a profit since last May.

Figures suggest that the Spanish subsidiary can expect an annual profit for the first time this year.

Altogether, Seat produced 406,391 cars, including 132,000 Polos and Passats, thus boosting its production by a commendable 20 per cent.

Spain has now advanced to fourth position in the ranking of car exporters.

With a two per cent share of the European market Seat has already achieved something that experts in



Wolfsburg did not expect until 1990. Hahn nevertheless feels that the company only achieved "70 per cent of its objective." Yet the success on the Iberian peninsula is considerable.

As a result of its takeover of Seat Volkswagen (including Audi) has been able to increase its delivery figure to 59,000 cars, thus obtaining a 6.3 per cent share of the market in a region in which Volkswagen was hardly able to sell at all at the beginning of the eighties due to tight import restrictions.

Despite the positive development in Europe (Audi, Volkswagen and Seat sold 915,000 cars last year — an above-average increase of six per cent) Hahn is not satisfied.

"If you're the number-one seller of cars you've got to have the number-one result, too," he said.

Efforts are in the stepped up in cut costs and boost productivity. There will be no change to the restrictive personnel policy this year.

If all goes according to plan, the Volkswagen payroll at the end of 1988

will be 128,000 — 3,000 less than at the beginning of the year.

However, managing board member Karl-Heinz Briam, responsible for personnel management and social policy, stressed that the company will take on all its trainees.

Fears of a sales drop still abounded at the end of last year. Following the boom years all the experts were extremely sceptical about the prospects for 1988.

Just a few months ago Volkswagen expected to sell about 100,000 fewer cars this year.

The Volkswagen marketing divisions were totally surprised by the behaviour of car-buyers. No-one new talks of a sales drop, in fact sales expectations are rising.

Carl Hahn explains that there is in reality an expanding trend.

The successes of the Audi 80/90 and the VW Passat have played a major part.

The Passat in particular has sold much better than many first expected. The number of deliveries of Audi, Seat and Volkswagen cars was 948,000, a six per cent increase.

These three makes were able to improve their upward trend even further on European markets with an increase of 6.6 per cent; 72,150 models were also sold in the USA.

Cash and carry: cut-price cars at the supermarket

German supermarkets are now moving into cars — brand-new, cut-price cars. The cars are mostly European cars imported to Germany or cars from Asian countries. German dealers are up in arms and motor industry pressure groups talk of the practice in angry tones. But there is nothing illegal about the business. European rates of tax vary so much that the same car costs different amounts from country to country.

Even when tax rates are standardised under impending common market changes, the practice might not come to an end. A South Korean maker, Hyundai, is being sold in American department stores. This story, by Bernhard Schmidt, appeared in the *Hamburg Sunday paper, Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt*.

Some German supermarkets have started selling cut-price non-European or reimported European cars.

The price is in many cases up to 20 per cent lower than the official list price — and the motor industry is up in arms.

The clever salesmen from the reimporting companies promise "guaranteed brand-new European Community imports."

Motor industry pressure groups, especially the Bonn-based Central Association of the German Motor Trade (ZDK) and the German Motor Industry Association (VDA), talk of "shady imports", "free-riders" and "parasites".

The reimporting firms are only interested in making a fast mark and don't care about what happens after the car has been sold.

Once the car has been handed over, with customs clearance and road-worthiness certificate, the reimporter is seen and heard no more.

The buyers themselves have to take care of after-sales servicing, repairs, spare parts and so on.

The motor trade refers to the "pickings" reimporters take, which indicates how angry the industry is about not getting the generally high sales profits they usually receive.

It's hardly surprising that the garages don't like the reimported cars, which are easily detectable by the chassis number.

But the law obliges equal treatment to all — but no law can prevent the owner of an import from being put at the back of the queue.

Although there are no official statistics on the often shady dealings of the reimport trade there has definitely been a downhill trend during recent years.

Both the ZDK and the VDA have done all they can to make life as difficult as possible for reimporters.

ZDK secretary Jürgen Creutzig feels that the drop in the "grey imports" is due to the activities of his association with the help of car manufacturers and importers.

As Creutzig explained, his association's main task is to inform the public about the serious consequences of these dealings and to put pressure on politicians to try and effect a standardised European tax and customs policies. Initial successes have already been achieved.

Growing tax harmonisation within the European Community, for example, together with the lifting of the price

Volkswagen boss Hahn described the situation in North America, where all manufacturers are having difficulty with excess capacities.

"We have no delusions about the continuingly difficult structure of the market."

Volkswagen expects total sales of about 2.8 million vehicles this year. This would beat the already good result of 1987.

But Hahn sees no reason for euphoria. Instead he feels that the motor industry will have to face up to a structural upheaval.

He said: "Existing excess capacities together with the capacities installed in the USA will lead to a more aggressive price policy."

"This is why further productivity improvements and cost reductions are of decisive importance throughout the world's motor industry."

Although Volkswagen already has lower-cost production possibilities in the form of its Spanish partner, Seat, there are no plans to shift sections of production to the Iberian peninsula.

The production of the Polo, for example, is not going to be moved to stock and barrel to a new location.

As Hahn quite rightly pointed out, the modern installations in Wolfsburg cannot simply be made idle.

He also warned against any measures which might further reduce the group's competitive strength.

There are plenty of other nations ready and willing to take away shares of the market and thus jeopardise jobs.

Walther Wuttke (Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 6 May)

freeze in France have made business less lucrative for reimporters.

The reimport business can only flourish as long as Germany's neighbouring countries retain their varying rates of value added tax.

The VAT rate of over 30 per cent on all luxury goods in France, which included cars, meant that German producers had to bring down their prices to remain competitive; their profit margins dwindled.

The "grey imports" got the tax back at the border — a lucrative business.

However, improvement in this field will not automatically put an end to the problem.

The arrival on the market of new makes of car, above all from South-East Asia, may make the supermarket an ideal point of sale for small and middle-market cars.

In the USA, for example, some exotic makes of car are offered for sale in department store chains.

Several German firms have been trying to obtain the import licence for the South Korean newcomer Hyundai, which is now trying its luck in Germany following a successful campaign in North America.

One possible partner is the wholesaler chain Maas — an interesting point of contact for the Koreans, since Maas already has an extensive distribution network.

The "cut-price" image of the Korean small and middle-market cars would fit in well with the supermarket concept, say German negotiating partners.

The last word, however, has not yet been spoken. As Gustav Kühn, a member of Maas's managing board pointed out, the Koreans are still considering whether it might not be better to do the distributing themselves.

Bernhard Schmidt (Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 6 May 1988)

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■ INDUSTRY

The ups and the downs and the lives and the times of a long-term survivor

DIE ZEIT

Berthold Beitz, whose career has been closely related to the name of Krupp, is almost 75.

He could retire. He says his wife continually pesters him to call it a day. He is long past pensionable age, but he doesn't want to know.

He speaks of the responsibility he owes to Krupp and to Alfred Krupp, who died in 1976 and made him executor of his will.

He is none too pleased to mention his age either. He said there were people who were old at 60 and other who were still young at 70. It is clear where he places himself.

Nevertheless there is no lack of advice that at his age he ought to retire. There are quite a few people who regard Beitz as a weak point in the Krupp organisation.

His relations with Wilhelm Scheider, board chairman of Fried. Krupp GmbH, are not as close as they should be in view of the influence Beitz has in the company.

Beitz energetically denies that there is any difference of opinion between himself and Scheider. Scheider makes the same denial.

At the Hanover Fair, Beitz and Scheider jointly gave an interview to the financial paper, *Handelsblatt*, to demonstrate their unity.

They both came out with the same statement that they saw commercial and personnel policies in the same light.

Neither Beitz nor Scheider admitted to being fed up with their jobs. Beitz said: "I shall continue to work together with Herr Scheider. We shall do things that are worth taking notice of."

There is not much "worth taking notice of" at the moment. Nothing positive emerged from the preliminary report on the 1987 financial year.

The company itself stated that the year's results were influenced mainly by "considerations of balancing the accounts by necessary adjustment measures as well as a reduction in turnover, and the results for the year will be lower than in the previous financial year."

In 1986 Krupp had a turnover of DM1.5bn but a profit of only DM126m.

When Scheider was asked in July last year what was the outlook for 1987 profits he said that they would be dependent essentially on how well affiliated company Krupp Stahl did.

Krupp Stahl results were better than expected, thanks to good business as regards volume and price in the last quarter of 1987 for thin sheet metal. Krupp Stahl showed a modest profit.

Scheider has been in the habit of regarding Krupp Industrietechnik as a kind of bank from which he could draw credits. It disappointed his calculations. Instead of making a profit of DM15m, as expected, the company made a loss of DM7m.

This cursed a parting of the ways among Krupp management and pushed the organisation into the headlines.

Kurt Spiller, chairman of Krupp Industrietechnik, was appointed in the Krupp holding company board in the

middle of January by Beitz who is chairman of the Krupp supervisory board. Two months later Spiller left.

In the Ruhr the rumour went round that he departed not only because of Krupp Industrietechnik losses but that he had concealed them from the board of the holding company for too long.

With instinctive sureness the supervisory board, of all organisations, choose as a leader a person from within the organisation's ranks, who deserved this promotion the least — as we know now.

On the other hand Gerhard Cromme, boss of Krupp Stahl, Henner Geldmacher, chairman of Krupp Handel, the Krupp trading organisation, and particularly Karl Friedrich Triebold, who heads the jewel in the Krupp crown, Krupp Atlas Elektronik, have not been promoted.

Cromme and Geldmacher can both take comfort from the fact that Krupp has publicly acknowledged that they will remain in management "through their involvement in group committees," Triebold, on the other hand, was not mentioned.

Admittedly he was looking for a job outside Krupp. He would have followed up an offer from Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blom and moved from Bremen, where Krupp Atlas Elektronik has its headquarters, to Munich where MBB is located.

But Beitz would not release him from his contract that runs until 1993. Then suddenly there was room for him at the top. He was appointed to the Fried. Krupp board in March.

Triebold is 49. His desire to get out had nothing to do with the mid-life crisis. He was not attracted to Munich because he saw the move as the last chance to do another job.

The reason he wanted to move was much more to do with the stubborn rumour that Krupp wanted to get rid of a part at least of its holding in Krupp Atlas Elektronik.

Like the squire

Beitz denies this and is proud that he did not let Triebold go. Triebold is now grateful to Beitz and said: "Beitz held me back."

Actually Beitz and Triebold have little to do with one another. Krupp Atlas Elektronik is a subsidiary of Fried. Krupp GmbH, and Gerhard Neipp, a member of the Fried. Krupp board, sits on the supervisory board of Atlas Elektronik.

Beitz is not interested in such corporate refinements. He rules the group like the squire of the manor.

No-one can do much about Beitz for he has defined the functions of an owner. He usually does not ask if he might or might not do something.

A further example of his autocratic rule is the case that shook Krupp to its very foundations two years ago and which has not been resolved yet. At that time Alfons Gödde, chairman of Krupp Stahl, sank into oblivion.

Krupp management accused Gödde of having defrauded the steel concern of many millions. Werner Resch, member of the supervisory, is also accused in this affair, and now the Bochum public

prosecutor is involved. Gödde and Resch are currently in remand prison.

The name Resch inevitably leads to Berthold Beitz, because he brought Resch into Krupp as a steel expert. The two got to know and admire each other on the North Sea holiday resort island of Sylt.

Thanks to Krupp's unconventional management style Beitz invited his favourite to the supervisory board of Krupp's steel affiliate and trusted his advice from then on in all matters concerning steel.

It is not surprising that this turned out to be a mistake. Beitz is spontaneous in his decision-making.

The same thing happened when Beitz was "only" the "manager holding a general power of attorney" on behalf of the group boss Alfred Krupp.

There was then, however, a quarter to which a person could appeal when one felt that Beitz had been unfair.

Group shareholders saw as early as 1967 that Berthold Beitz's omnipotence was the real source of the Krupp crisis of the period, overtaken by a loan from public funds.

In their rescue operation the Bonn government and the banks imposed the condition that the one-man business Krupp must be turned into a public limited company.

If they hoped to demote Beitz then they were barking up the wrong tree. He was chairman of the board of trustees of the Alfred Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach Foundation to which at the time all the shares in Fried. Krupp GmbH belonged.

From this ownership position he worked his way upwards again. No-one on the board of trustees crossed swords with him.

The first to realise that you cannot govern in opposition to an owner was Günter Vogelsang, who took over the chairmanship of the board after the crisis.

Vogelsang thought that the Beitz era at Krupp had come to an end and did little to encourage their relations.

He kept his hand firmly on the cash and made Beitz, to whose foundation Krupp profits were transferred, a foundation administrator without cash to manage.

But in 1970 Hermann Josef Abs, former board chairman of the Deutsche Bank, resigned as chairman of the Krupp supervisory board. Thanks to Vogelsang's reorganisation the banks no longer had to worry about their money.

Beitz became chairman of the supervisory board. The monthly magazine *Capital* wrote: "Beitz is omnipotent by tinkering over the chairmanship of the supervisory board from Abs. He has reached the summit of his career."

Indeed, three years after his darkest hour Beitz was again at the top. But Krupp's official version stated that he had gone down unjustly. According to this version the 1967 crisis never happened.

A proof of this it was pointed out that the loan from public funds, which was to stabilise the company, was never taken up.

One looks in vain for a passage that mentions the Krupp crisis in a 1986 Krupp press release issued on the 175th



Man of steel... Berthold Beitz.

(Photo: Archiv)

anniversary of the establishment of the firm.

Beitz and Vogelsang were soon at loggerheads and in 1972 Vogelsang threw in his hand.

He was followed by Jürgen Krackow, who later tried to reorganise Saarlouis.

He held his Krupp job for ten weeks and then left to make room for the former Thyssen manager Ernst-Wolf Momm.

He stayed on until the end of 1975 and made way for an old Krupp-hand, Heinz Petry.

Wilhelm Scheider followed him. He has stayed with Krupp, and Beitz, for the past eight years. He has had to live with the fact that Beitz has put his confident, Jürgen Rossherg, on the board.

Scheider told *Handelsblatt*: "Herr Rossherg is fully integrated into our board. We work together well."

What makes Beitz sacrosanct is his unquestionable service to the group. In 1974 he sold 25 per cent of Krupp's holding in its steel subsidiary to the Shah of Iran, and two years later 25 per cent of the equity of the holding company itself.

Altogether DM1.4bn was poured into the Krupp coffers in this way. The last instalment was paid in 1978, just a little before the downfall of the Shah, Reza Pahlavi.

It is unlikely that Krupp would be what it is today without this transfusion of cash. What figure Beitz would have cut if the Shah had remained in power is anyone's guess.

For the Iranians the move into Krupp was only the first step. They were striving for a marriage of "mind and money" with their oil billions that should have opened up paradisaical prospects for Krupp.

But then the routine of life made itself felt. Krupp and Beitz had to scuffle with the crude realities of the commercial world without being particularly successful.

Anyone who had imagined that Krupp would meaningfully use this huge injection of cash would be disappointed. It looks as if the money was wasted. There is no sign of great success.

The Beitz-Scheider team is still heading the Krupp group. Beitz is after all now prepared to make modest changes in personnel.

New people are to be appointed to the Fried. Krupp supervisory board. Daimler-Benz board member Werner Niefer has been named. Beitz has only announced that a decision will be made in June.

It is high time this were done. The Krupp supervisory board is peopled with Beitz's old friend, who certainly do

Continued on page 13

■ CONSTRUCTION

Mining-shaft and tunnelling techniques: getting safer

The industrial revolution meant exploitation and wretched living conditions for most of the working class. The mining industries in northern England and south Wales were outstanding examples of the negative side of progress. Men, women and children worked under inhuman and dangerous conditions which killed and injured many of them.

When one contrasts the present conditions with those of the past, one sees, particularly in mining, how much technology, safety and productivity have improved.

The industry is still trying to humanize the mining industry more. The Institute for Science of Mining at Aachen Technical University is working on a project for the research ministry in Bonn called "Ergonomical Improvement of Roadway Supports." It wants to develop a new drilling system which also improves support of the tunnel ceiling.

Despite mechanisation, supporting the ceiling at the pit face is still one of the most hazardous jobs going. The last century saw many horrible accidents.

The system used for paying wages meant that not enough working time was available to prop up all the tunnels safely. As a result rock falls caused more than half of all mining deaths.

Until the introduction of the acetylene safety lamp around 1800 and electric ventilation in 1900, the most spectacular disasters were firedamp explosions.

After 1900, Germany had 150,000 kilometres of underground mines — four times the circumference of the globe. Now it is only 6,000 kilometres.

The use of steel in tunnels and shafts was developed in the 1930s. Ninety per cent of German mines have sliding arcuated roof supports. But the Institute for

the Science of Mining says this hinders mechanisation. The steel segments weigh up to 110 kgs. They are transported by hand to hazardous areas and are exhausting to assemble.

Because the height of the arches are often more than four metres, the miners have to work at a second face lower down, which is a makeshift and dangerous face to work on.

Admittedly the engineers have tried to reduce the risks by using mechanical supports, but this hardly improves safety. As a rule miners are still required to do heavy physical work at the face and elsewhere.

Along with the sliding supports, the researchers in Aachen evaluated two other procedures: the strata bolting (bolted supports) and the concrete injection casing system. The safeguarding of the digging cavity with anchors (like oversized metre-long dowels (pins)) is mechanised.

The anchors, which are inserted in the arched vaults and ceilings, are to stop mountains from collapsing under their own weight.

The anchors, which are cemented into drill-holes, grip the rock and stabilise its stratum. But anchors are only effective in hard rock. They are useless in porous rock.

The concrete injection support system is also favourable to mechanisation. Its main feature is the pneumatic or hydraulic

injection of concrete into the tunnel ceiling.

This method has the disadvantage of having low pliability. Whereas the other supports can adjust slightly to rock movements, the concrete shell offers resistance and subsequently bursts open.

After weighing up the pros and cons of current methods of supporting underground tunnels, the researchers have recommended using a "Baldachin" cement support system. This is a combination of the anchor technique and the cement-injection technique.

Elastic bolts and springs provide the necessary pliability. All the components can be operated by robots or manipulators on self-propelled mounts. Sheltered radio, infra-red or cable remote controls give the orders.

The results of underground tests will determine whether so much automation has practical uses.

Aachen will have to take into account the results of a previous study. In 1986 the Bochum Institute for Civil Engineering finished a study for the government on concrete injection in mining and tunnel construction.

The report said 80 per cent of all traffic tunnel construction uses concrete injection to support ceilings. More mining engineers are using this facing technique to improve safety.

The Bochum project looked at whether the health-damaging spray nozzles and concrete mixers can be improved.

Tunnel construction used to be a bloody struggle with granite and gneiss — laminated rock of quartz. The 15-kilometre-long Gotthard Tunnel was finished in 1882. It took 10 years to complete.

The tunnel was cheered as man's victory over a mountain. But it claimed many victims. Rock falls, explosions, gas, fire, extreme heat, suffocation and flooding claimed many lives. About 177 men died and 403 were seriously injured.

A century later, a new high velocity rail track is being built between Würzburg and Hanover. To keep the track as straight as possible, many tunnels have been built. Rock falls have taken place but there have been no serious injuries.

Despite the effectiveness of the Austrian developed cement injection technique, it still has its dangers. Because the man with the spray nozzle is right beside the drilling, he is particularly at risk from falling rock or a collapsing work face.

The worker's health is also at risk. His lungs suffer from minute spray particles, his skin from cement chemicals and his hearing from the noise of the nozzle.

The Aachen Institute has no panacea. Their conclusion: "The unsatisfactory state and use of spray technology seems particularly important as regards the humanization of the work place. Further research is necessary on the method of application."

The trend seems clear. Peoples' jobs have to be made as safe as possible.

Gerhard Taube
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christi und Welt,
Bonn, 29 April 1988)

Huge costs as pollutants ruin concrete

Acid rain and salt (spread on icy roads) are corroding cement in bridges and buildings all over the country.

Germany is now paying the price of the building boom of the 1960s and 70s. In Hesse and the Rhineland Palatinate alone dozens of bridges, sewerage systems and even modern town halls already need restoring.

After the war, builders thought cement was the ideal material for construction. It was versatile, cheap, available and made possible the quick construction of roads, bridges and apartments. Between 1966 and 1983 12,000 bridges were built over motorways.

It now turns out that the layer of cement around the steel construction is often too thin to protect against the environment.

Pollutants weaken the concrete. The steel rusts. The first spectacular case was the collapse of the congress hall in 1980 in Berlin.

In southern Hesse building experts cannot keep up with the number of crumbling bridges and retaining walls from the 1960s. A Darmstadt building department spokesman said all the older concrete sections which had been exposed to the weather have been damaged.

Because there is no immediate danger to the public, the authorities are not spending a great deal of money on restoration.

There are cracks in the reinforced concrete of the cities 30-year-old sewerage system. The cracks are so big, the city will have to pay DM500,000 for the repairs.

This year authorities will restore 70 bridges in the rural districts of Darmstadt, Dieburg and Gross Gerau. A few smaller bridges were so decrepit, they were demolished and rebuilt.

The concrete on the footpaths and cycle paths on Gustavburg's crumbling bridges on the Main river will be expensive to repair.

The steel work is rusted and is bursting away the concrete. It will cost DM2m for a new coating of concrete.

Frankfurt's bridges over the Main also need repairing. The city's civil engineering inspectorate puts the cost of repair at DM40m. The Land spent DM44m for repairs on reinforced concrete buildings, highways and roads last year.

The Rhineland Palatinate had a bill for DM230 for repairs done in the last five years. It will be spending another DM100m this year and next.

The rust is also eating away at houses. Kaiserslautern is having to pay DM2.5m for repairs because reinforced concrete in the town hall window parapets was rusting.

Offenbach town hall's exposed concrete is crumbling. Dampness has reached the steel and the repair bill is likely to reach DM890,000.

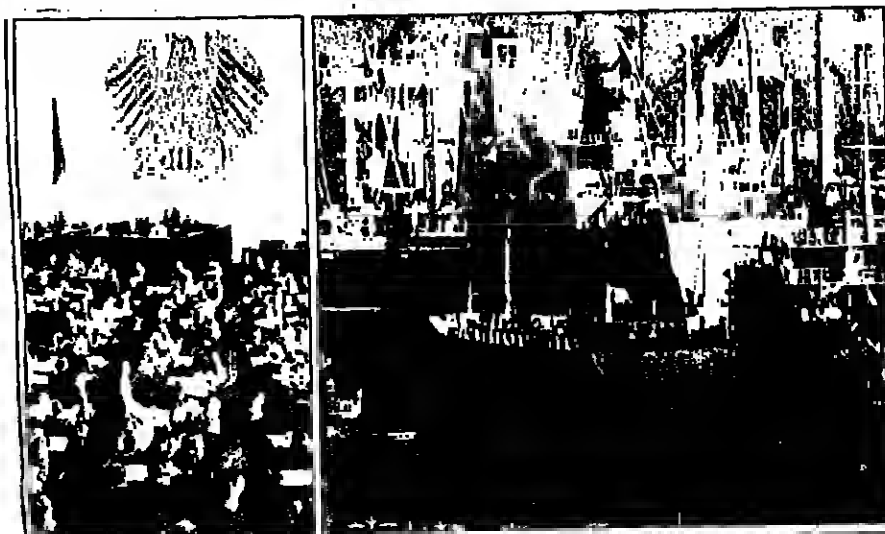
A spokesman for one Frankfurt architecture firm said the supporting structures of multi-storied buildings were not at risk.

But there were problems with palling. Water was getting behind the concrete plates and flowing into the drill-holes for the anchorage points. It was possible that plates could fall off.

Even the cement industry is admitting mistakes. At a conference in Frankfurt, the German Concrete Association said it recognised now that cement lacks durability.

However, there is no alternative. What has been learnt is that concrete should not be exposed to polluted air.

dpa
(Allgemeine Zeitung, Mainz, 27 April 1988)



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■ FILMS

Getting at the truth of an artistic fragment

Twenty-six films from 15 countries were shown at the 41st Cannes Film Festival. Germany was represented the cinema industry's most prestigious festival by Thomas Brasch's *Der Passagier* — *Welcome to Germany*, starring Tany Curtis.

Thomas Brasch begins his fourth feature-length film at a snail's pace. Film-director Cornfield (played by Tany Curtis making an impressive comeback) is sitting in a make-up chair.

He signals the heavy camera to move towards him. The camera has to follow him slowly in his role as an actor.

The camera glides from the changing room and moves forward along a street that seems to be in a hazy state.

While the director whispers instructions, the camera shows him in the middle of his own production — as hero of an escape which ends in tragedy.

In the course of the film it becomes clear that the scene, played by the director in front of the camera, is an attempt at reconstructing reality. The exciting end shows the scene to be only one of many interpretations of what really happened.

The action with the various phases of reality, that director Thomas Brasch creates with his excellent cast in *Der Passagier* — *Welcome to Germany*, is not self-indulgent.

More importantly it revolves round the central political and aesthetic problem of Germany's post-war history: How is it possible to tell truthfully of the realities of the concentration and extermination camps?

Thomas Brasch depicts his complicated answer in a complex film-within-a-film narrative, because he knows that

all conventional narrative styles (the introduction of realism or naturalism) would not be suitable in this instance.

The externalisation of this attempt at an alternative narrative style creates the story of a film project that director Cornfield from America wants to shoot in Berlin and which in turn tells the story of a film.

In 1942 director Körner (played by Matthias Habich) is commissioned by the Nazi Propaganda Ministry to make an anti-semitic film.

To lend authenticity to his pack of lies Körner is allowed to choose 13 Jews from a concentration camp as extras, to cooperate in the making of the film on the promise that afterwards they will be given their freedom.

Among the extras are two friends, Bruno and Janko, who prematurely talk about escape.

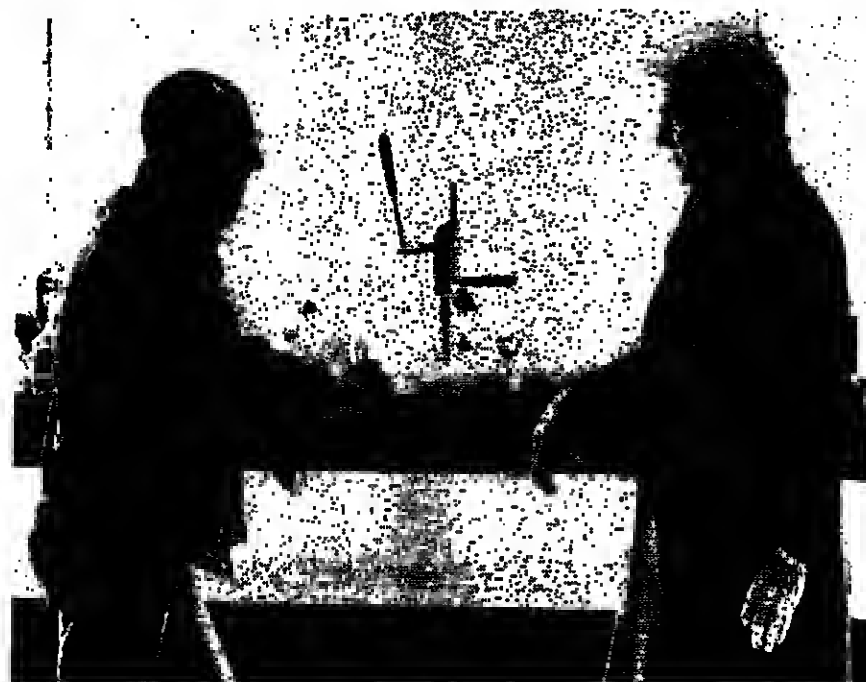
When Körner's film project falls on its face Bruno stakes everything on the help of the make-up artist, Sophie, played by Katharina Thalbach. But Janko's anxiety and doubts cost Bruno his life.

While Cornfield with sullen and authoritarian gestures directs the 1942 film set in the old Ufa-studios in Berlin in 1987, the actors and technicians on the set realise that the director himself must have been involved in the story. They ask themselves if he is the Janko who was responsible for his friend's death?

Is he making his version of the story to record it for ever? Or is he making the film to free himself through art from a sense of guilt?

Brasch accentuates the fictional qualities of the story, that is in fact based on fact, with unusual cinematic techniques.

The camera films the action often



Film within a film... director Brasch (left) and actor Curtis.

(Photo: DELTA Filmvertrieb)

from low angles or plays about with perspective so that the scene seems to be played in a distance.

The colour scheme emphasises blues and greens through which red comes up warningly — but not as the colour of blood. Brasch said: "You cannot make an image of blood."

In the best moments of the film about grim reality, when the sense of time becomes blurred, *Der Passagier* takes on the dimensions of a philosophical film tract.

It deals with the dialectics of the criminal and the victim. It ponders the question whether examples of gruesome concentration camp reality should be filmed.

You do not have to share Brasch's views on the role of the Jews as victims to recognise the film's pamphlet-like qualities, almost unknown in the Federal Republic.

They flash out when, in an Hollywood-style scene Körner's prisoners play in front of him for their very lives

and when, in a parallel scene, Federal Republic actors in the year 1987 have to get the parts of the Jewish extras.

Sad to say Brasch is unlucky in other aspects of his film. For instance when the participants in the Cornfield film think aloud about their work or gossip about the director. These scenes are their lack of a sense of time or place trigger off a soppy kind of existentialism.

The final scene, in which Curtis-director Cornfield apathetically sits the empty airport lounge after filming has been stopped and material already shot has been burned, sums up the film.

Is it not possible that today, 45 years after the Nazi extermination programme began, the history of German Jewish violence can only be told in the form of an artistic fragment, a fragment which is primarily right in what it refuses to reveal?

Dietrich Leder

(Köln: Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 12 May 1988)

■ THE ARTS

Doubts about the gangster form of Brecht play

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

Friedrich Luft said at the opening of the 25th Berlin *Theatertreffen* that theatre groups from East Germany might be taking part in the festival of drama in future.

This was greeted by applause from the audience at the opening ceremony in West Berlin's Freie Volksbühne. This indicated that politicians involved in the arts on both sides should get down to work to bring this about.

Drama critic Luft said that the annual airing of German-language theatre could add a lot to German-German exchange with performances from East German theatre groups.

The East German theatre should in fact welcome the opportunity of displaying the quality of its theatre by participation in a drama festival in which theatre groups from all countries in the German-speaking world participated.

This year's *Theatertreffen* opened with Alfred Kirchner's production for the Burgtheater in Vienna of Bertolt Brecht's *Antigone*.

There is a special reason why *Der aufhaltsame Aufstieg des Arturo Ui* is now included in the repertoire of the state-subsidised Burgtheater. The play, in the guise of an American gangster story, deals with what happened to Austria 50

years ago, the "Anschluss" with Hitler's Germany.

This grotesque travesty of Hitler's career from the beginning to the annexation of his homeland, Austria, has certain merits.

There is much to be praised in the way Brecht, who himself went into exile in Finland in 1941 fleeing from the Nazis, transposed current events to his fictitious Chicago.

What is questionable is how far the gangster story can retain its viability on the stage, independent of its historical origins, and this doubt will grow as time goes by.

Brecht allowed for this. At the end of each scene he directed that an explanatory notice should appear. This is a pedantic device that is ill-suited to contemporary theatre.

It creates boredom for those who are not too well versed in the history of the Third Reich and the events that led up to the Nazi take-over. They cannot understand and enjoy what this has to do with Chicago gangsters and small-time shop-keepers.

For example the position of the president of the Reich Hindenburg between the East Elbe junkerism and the up-and-coming Nazi leader, dressed up as Americans, conceals more than it reveals.

It is certainly no accident that the strongest moments of Kirchner's production are not in the presentation of a



Are they getting the message about Junkerism across? ... Alfred Kirchner's version of Brecht's *Der aufhaltsame Aufstieg des Arturo Ui* in Berlin.

(Photo: Ute Bartsch/Jürgen Remeritz)

play of intrigue between rival powers but in the scenes of parody.

Sebastian Fischer plays the part of a ham actor to perfection, teaching Hitler-Ui the art of walking, standing, sitting and speaking.

He makes use of every opportunity to display to the full the arts of a ham.

Franz Morak plays Ui when shows himself a pupil quick to learn. It is side-splitting how the two compete on the rolling "r" in a speech by Antony from Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, while Ui slips in typical Hitler gestures.

Franz Morak copes with the challenge of being his own boss and boss of the entire ensemble marvellously, with virtuoso body language and superb speech techniques.

Morak plays Ui as a psychopath who has wakened from a deep depression. He flops in his chair.

He becomes a furious fanatic, a burning brute who laughs out around him and stamps his feet on the floor. He is intoxicated with his own self-confidence.

Ui announces in the final scene that he does not want to conquer the world. This is amplified by an echo effect. The performance ends with the epilogue spoken quietly by Erika Pluhar.

The applause was fairly general but, it must be said, this was more out of friendly feeling for the guest actors and actresses from Vienna than from enthusiasm for the piece.

Günther Grack

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 10 May 1988)

A tedious day

Continued from page 10

journalists to get their hands on a camera.

These all-round journalists have been operating in America and France for a long time.

They are looked upon sceptically by local cameramen.

They argue that commercial television stations particularly will be able to save on jobs at the expense of picture quality by these one-man teams.

For some time now camera people have occasionally turned the tables. For years they have worked together with a reporter, but they are now doing the reporting for their film themselves.

Women have for a long time been at a disadvantage when it comes to getting behind a camera.

The argument has always been that the cameras are too heavy for the "weaker sex."

Lighter cameras are now taking the wind out of the male sceptics' sails.

The physical demands remain high and prejudice is stubborn, but the first camerawomen have already shot their first film and shown that they are not only professionally competent, but have a quality without which you are lost in the business — strong nerves.

Teresa Jungwirth

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 7 May 1988)

ferred a vacant job in television. According to age, experience and years of service he can earn between DM4,000 and DM8,000 a month with a good pension at the end of his working life.

In the private sector, with few exceptions (for example with advertising agencies), only independent teams are taken on. It is left to the assistant's own initiative and the contacts he makes when he can shoot his "own" first film.

The rates laid down for commissioned productions stipulate a fee of DM3,341 a week, but the business is seasonal. Independent cameramen have to "winter" for months on end.

The competition is considerable and shooting is mainly done when the sun shines.

A good 50 per cent of the 3,000 cameramen in Germany operate along these lines — they go from one production to the next. They are constantly hovering between work and unemployment.

There have been changes in the way camera people work over the last few years through the introduction of electronic reporting in television.

Reporting equipment, easy to use and very like in appearance and function to enlarged video equipment, has replaced heavy camera work in reporting on sports events.

These have made the cameraman independent of the assistant cameraman and make it possible for resourceful

Continued on page 11

Life behind a camera: the glamour of a tedious day

Anyone who wants to make a living as a cameraman must be prepared to live an unsettled life.

The job has brought many a marriage to its knees. It is tough work making a feature-length film on various locations or covering new events for television.

But every year 100 people apply for the 30 or so vacant places for training as camera assistants at Berlin's College for Optics and Photographic Technology.

The very things that put many people off are the attraction for many others — those who do not want a nine-to-five life, who want to see something of the world and be creative.

But expectations about the amount of artistic flair required often exceed the reality. Television camera work can become routine — a succession of politicians' faces, receptionists and cars pulling in and pulling out.

Unlike entertainment filming, where the shots are combined artistically, cameramen in television reporting have to work fast, accurately and in a team.

A cameraman has to have a lot of talents. A good general education and empathy are imperative. He has to work with the director, author or editor and make the pictures tell their story.

He is responsible for the translation of the action and events to the visual, the choice of sequences, lighting and camera work.

Creative abilities are just as decisive for the quality of the film as a sense of assurance in dealing with technology.

Training is correspondingly a lengthy business. It takes more than 10 years for a person to get qualified after leaving school with the *Abitur*, the university entrance examination, or a person who has passed through a secondary modern school.

Before a prospective cameraman can get busy with film he has to do a lot of work with photoprints.

The first pre-requisite for the profession, apart from good health and eyesight, is having had a photographic apprenticeship. Then a person can become a camera assistant.

Some television stations offer a year as a trainee. Apart from working with the camera crews the trainee is instructed in related areas such as how to develop exposed film in copying work or film-cutting where cutters process film material supplied to them.

Trainee jobs in private film companies are rare. But anyone who is lucky to land such a job will see how a feature-length film is made from beginning to end.

All the instruction given trainees puts the emphasis on practical work. They learn by watching, inquiring and taking part.

There is a lack of systematic course

training but the trainee gets to know the basics of production from the very beginning.

Training at the Optics College is more matter of fact, more like school instruction. The course includes basic instruction on the camera, lighting techniques and filming. Instruction is also given on media law, cutting, sound recording and cartoon work.

Participants in the college's two-year course are given an official diploma at the end stating that they are qualified camera assistants.

Nevertheless the camera assistant rarely gets behind a camera; whether with a state qualification or trained through practical work.

He deals with lighting and focusing, maintaining the equipment. He has to push the dolly and drag the heavy cameras, tripods and reflectors to the shooting location.

In feature-length filming it sometimes happens that the assistant and cameraman work so well together that they stay together as a team.

Usually camera assistants have the opportunity of becoming full-blown cameramen after between five and 10 years.

The camera assistant might be of-

Johannes W. 1986

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Massive cost of repairing ageing sewerage systems

A downpour of rain on a hot summer's day brings refreshing relief for many people. But beneath their feet, there is nothing refreshing taking place.

The surge of water swirls oil, rubble and a million pieces of assorted rubbish into the sewerage system until the sludge that has been deposited over the years swirls up, the shafts fill — and the labyrinth overflows.

Hamburg has the oldest sewerage network in Europe, and the 890-kilometre long system suffers from what are coyly called "overflow incidents" between 20 and 25 times a year.

Four million cubic metres of brown sludge every year washes into public lakes and rivers, including the already highly polluted river Alster in the city centre.

This corresponds to the total volume of all rain overflow reservoirs in Germany. Hamburg is planning drastic changes. Fifteen new underground collecting tanks are to be built.

Other centres in the country with similar problems are intending much the same. The currently available collecting tank space is only able to handle just under a quarter of the waste which regularly surges out of the overloaded sewerage systems.

An additional capacity of 15 million cubic metres is needed to eliminate the problem altogether, at an estimated cost of DM25bn.

For the industrial city of Mannheim, for example, the construction of a rain overflow reservoir is the biggest medium-term task in the field of waste management.

The city currently conducts roughly half of its rainfall water (unpurified) into the rivers Neckar and Rhine.

It is hoped that at least a quarter of all public waste disposal investments and roughly eighty per cent of the financial support from the Land of Baden-Württemberg and the Federal Government in Bonn will help solve the problem during the next few years.

The city authorities expect annual investments to the tune of DM38m by 1990.

German cities are not just suffering from overflow, but also from corrosion of the sewers.

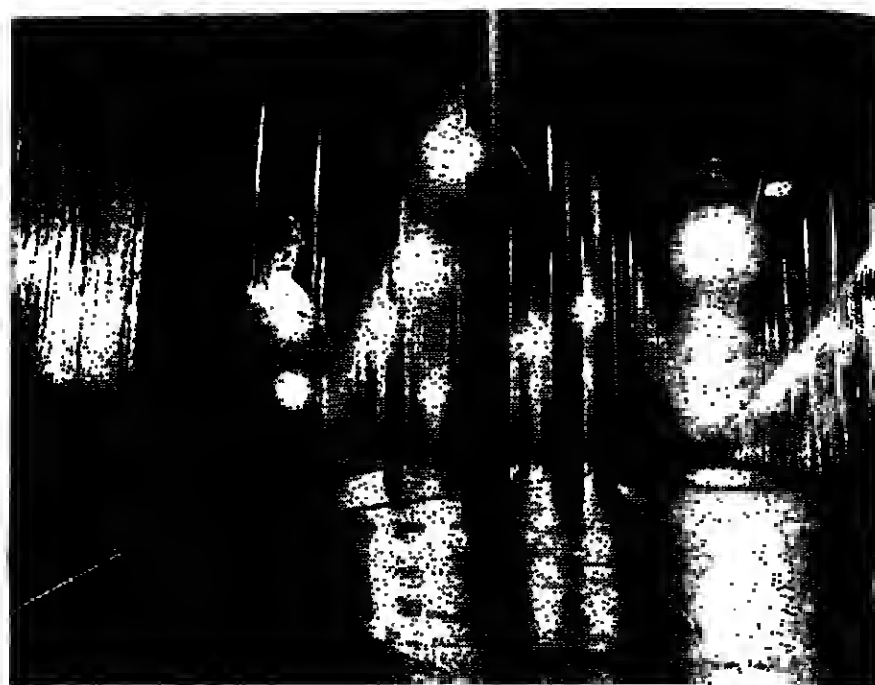
The basic structure of most of the sewerage networks in the big towns and cities was constructed at the turn of the century.

Watertight joints were not developed until the 1960s.

Most of these connections, therefore, are a particular weak point in the sewerage system.

Vibrations or movements of the ground can loosen up or even break off the joint sealants.

Corrosion caused by increasingly aggressive industrial waste makes a crack even more likely.



Nightlife in Temple City. This part of Munich's underground affluent canal system is 100 years old. (Photocopy)

Deposits which have been in the sewerage system for too long tend to decompose and form hydrogen sulphide.

At some stage microorganisms turn the latter into sulphuric acid, which then corrodes the material.

Dietrich Stein, professor for urban development at the university of Bochum, reckons that between ten and twenty per cent of the public sewerage systems in the Federal Republic of Germany are faulty and thus contribute to groundwater contamination.

At present roughly DM10bn are known to be needed for investments to improve the sewerage systems of the big towns and cities.

Roughly DM40m is spent in Hamburg alone each year for the improvement and repair of its sewerage system.

Forty-five per cent of the city's combined domestic-sewage and industrial-waste sewers are in some cases much older than the calculated average life of 77 years.

The situation is not much better in neighbouring Lübeck, where some sections of the system were built before 1876.

The probable costs of renewal are tremendous. The city estimates the costs (at current prices) at anything up to DM500m.

It is still not clear how this is going to be financed. Like many other municipalities, Lübeck is up to its neck in debt.

The Land of Schleswig-Holstein and the Federal Government are unlikely to help.

As a rule subsidies are only provided for new constructions and extensions — mainly for sewage and waste-water purification plants and only to a limited extent for sewerage projects.

Improvements of already existing systems, on the other hand, are not financed.

Hanns Karrenberg, financial expert of the Standing Conference of German Municipal Authorities, feels that it is absolutely essential for the state to do some rethinking in this field.

"The municipalities certainly cannot accept a situation in which a diminishing urban population has to finance the excessive costs of renewing the sewerage system, whereas some of the Länder are granted substantial subsidies for the construction of new sewerage systems in rural regions," Karrenberg complained.

Some rethinking should also be done with regard to the calculation of municipal waste disposal charges.

The average cost recovery ratio of 85 per cent distorts the actual situation in the field of waste disposal.

The calculation of charges in most municipalities is based on the acquisition costs of the outdated sewerage systems.

In Karrenberg's opinion, this only covers a fraction of the replacement costs.

In its research project "Construction and Environmental Protection — Prevention of Water Pollution in the Federal Republic of Germany" the Hamburg-based GEWOS Institute for Urban, Regional and Residential Research referred to a major reason for this distorted budget policy by a number of municipalities.

In their final report the GEWOS researchers express the opinion that the current policy pursued by the municipal authorities does not as a rule correspond to the principle of pay-as-you-pollute.

GEWOS feel that the level of charge is a "politically fixed price" and represents an "indirect industrial subsidy".

However, the GEWOS report emphasises that the limit to any increase in the level of charges must be the point where households are expected to pay a disproportionately high price for the disposal of highly polluted industrial waste.

The GEWOS research findings show that in the medium term up to DM7bn must be invested in public sewage and waste disposal.

The report feels that the investments in West German cities must at least be kept at a constant level until 1990.

After 1990 the investment volume is expected to drop by up to twenty per cent, since just under a third of the already known need for renewal and improvement of the sewerage systems can only be financed after the year 2000 due to financial bottlenecks.

According to official planning, only 23 per cent of this total need will have been realised by 1990.

According to the Wiesbaden city treasurer Dietrich Oedekoven, if the Federal Government doesn't give a helping hand "problems will arise in some German cities which no-one can imagine today."

A glance at the cities in the Ruhr area, with their high rates of unemployment and their disproportionately high growth of social welfare costs, gives an idea of what it means for cities like Mülheim, Dortmund or Duisburg to find DM350m, DM400m or DM570m for improvement measures in the waste disposal field.

The much-needed investments could help relieve the unemployment problem.

The GEWOS Institute has estimated that waste disposal investments would safeguard 50,000 jobs and create at least 20,000 new ones.

Rainer Praetorius

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 12 May 1988)

■ MEDICINE

When treatment can be the biggest danger

DIE WELT

One third of physical complaints treated by doctors are psychosomatic. Whatever else patients might say, intensive medical examination gives them a clean bill of health.

But many psychosomatics are persistent. They continue going to hospital. To get at the cause of their complaint, many of them risk strenuous diagnostic operations which can damage their health.

Professor Thure von Uexküll described a typical case of the phenomenon of iatrogenic damage — damage caused by doctors.

Doctors treating a woman found no organic cause for her hip pains. But four university clinics still carried out ten hip and pelvis operations to find the cause.

Von Uexküll, formerly head of psychosomatic medicine at Ulm University, said none of the operations relieved the pain. The surgeons only found out later that the women's symptoms cropped up during leisure time.

Faced with an 11th operation, the woman suddenly had her doubts about mechanistic treatment. She went to a psychotherapist instead. The treatment was a success.

Von Uexküll said the systematic pathographic basis of Western medicine could not deal with cases like this. Rather than consider alternative explanations, Western doctors still insist on materialistic explanations for everything.

It takes on average 11 years before patients with functional disorders like this get to see a doctor with experience of psychosomatic illnesses.

But long odysseys in hospitals worsen the chances of recovery. People become chronic patients.

Years of pain make them dependent on medical attention. Uexküll said they become "addicted" to treatment.

The cost of handling such cases is immeasurable. Those affected spend

an average of seven days per month in bed in contrast to half a day for the rest of the population.

American research shows that psychosomatic patients cost nine times more than other patients. Uexküll said doctors ignorant of the psychosomatic basis of symptoms, dismiss such patients as troublemakers.

Authoritarian views on the doctor-patient relationship create professional blindness.

Uexküll said medicine is a product of the culture in which it develops. This means different cultures deal with medical problems in different ways.

Western industrial culture sees the body as a machine. Medicine is a repair shop.

Western medicine will not admit that psychological or social influences cause as much diseases as biological, chemical or physical factors.

Uexküll's proposed to find out with the help of ethnic medicine, to what degree modern medicine causes the diseases which are "culture syndrome" of industrial society.

However Uexküll made it clear he is neither calling for recourse to the past nor to the methods of alien cultures.

"Other countries have costellations of diseases which are influenced by their cultures," he said. The solution is not, he added, "a general rehabilitation of outsider medicine."

Instead modern medicine should give up its mechanistic oneness in favour of a pathology, which recognises psycho-social factors both at the diagnostic and treatment stages.

Therefore the goal of psychosomatic medicine is to retreat from specialisation and instead to see psychosomatic medicine integrated with the rest of medicine.

Uexküll said to avoid the institutionalisation of people, and as long as they can calculate the risk, doctors will have to have the courage to drop unproductive organic diagnostics in favour of a more open psychological approach.

Wolfgang Sasse

(Die Welt, Hamburg, 7 May 1988)

Continued from page 8

not argue with him. The board includes Max Grundig, who is 80; Walter Haselbach, 73, former boss of Bank für Gemeinwirtschaft (the trade-union bank); former minister Hans Leussink, 76; and former Daimler boss Joachim Zahn, 74.

According to a rumour doing the rounds in the Ruhr the statutes of the

Warning about drug use in child maladjustment cases

Every sixth German child under the age of 12 is being treated with psychopharmaca, according to a study quoted at a conference to discuss children's behavioural problems.

A Dortmund educationalist, Reinhard Voss, said it was time to use other ways of helping children to adjust to the realities of the world.

Voss told the 200 delegates that the statistic of 1 in 12 was in a 1984 study. New figures were unavailable and the situation seemed to be unchanged.

Yet it was time to ditch outmoded ideas about treatment of problem children. Perplexed parents and doctors would have to stop giving troublesome children tablets to help them fit into the adult world.

The conference, in Dortmund, was backed by the Catholic social and ethical centre.

Voss said parents and doctors blamed each other for the problem. Doctors said parents pushed them into prescribing psychopharmaca and parents retorted that doctors had nothing else to offer.

Voss accuses both sides of overlooking that child behavioural disorders are signs of disturbance. And lots of medication was a sign of helplessness.

Frankfurt paediatrician and psychotherapist Hans von Lüpke said: "Specialists are not always the saviours; one should not overtax them."

Von Lüpke recommended the difficult goal of better cooperation between doctors, psychologists, teachers and parents.

In concrete cases it is paradoxically often the departments responsible for information which turn fact-finding for parents into an off-putting bureaucratic odyssey down a labyrinth.

Voss says in order to improve the treatment of behavioural disorders it's important to take into account the entire environment as well as treating visible symptoms. The family background

can explain a lot. Child custody cases he said "are bad for children when they become a case number and are shoved from one court hearing to another."

Professor Joest Martinus, head of child and adolescent psychiatry at Munich University, is the author of an article, *Psychopharmaceuticals for problems in the school?*, which appeared in the specialist magazine, *Sozial Pädagogik in der Schule und Klinik*.

Martinus told the conference: "Not so long ago this topic would have been presented as a matter of course in the congress's programme without a question mark after it. It would have been just a matter of discussing drugs which bring a quick and widespread success in handling problems in school."

Martinus admits that psychological drugs are "more likely to be generously prescribed for all kinds of school problems when the indications are unclear."

Some doctors preferred now to do without such prescriptions. Theoretically this meant doctors could do without drugs altogether. What was required was improvements in the educational sphere and in family life.

But at this time, psychopharmaca could not simply be dispensed with. Many of the proposed alternatives were not yet ready or, like diets and the use of minerals, had yet to show that they were effective.

However Martinus is still an idealist and remains optimistic. He hopes, "eventually prevention and ideal pedagogics will make drugs superfluous."

Martinus views demand and justify the use of drugs for pronounced disorders like affective and schizophrenic psychoses, the hyperkinetic syndrome and alcohol embryopathy. He has many concrete examples of where the use of drugs has been successful.

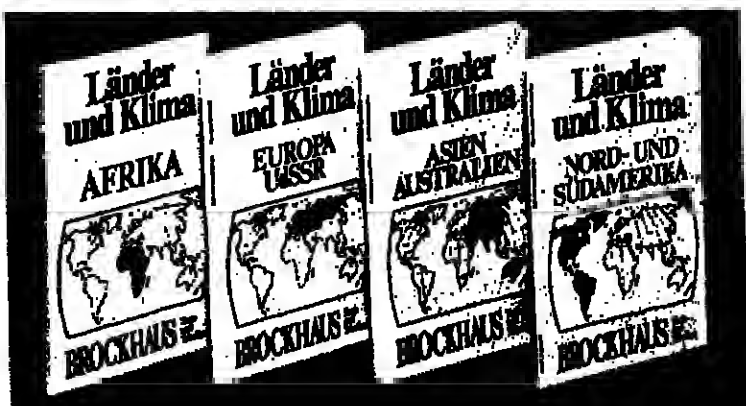
"If lack of intelligence is the cause of school problems, then neither drugs nor anything else can remedy it. We don't have an intelligence pill."

But behind his "nor anything else" should there perhaps not be a question mark?

Eckhart Klaus Roloff

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 6 May 1988)

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■ SOCIETY

No plus fours and monocles: blooming passion for an absurd game

Golf has been around for a long time in English-speaking countries. It became a popular sport in America partly through Ike Eisenhower. Ike's example when he was President of the United States showed just what a versatile place the golf course can be — both boardroom and conference centre, meeting place and sales centre. In Germany, the game is at a much different stage of development, but... Dieter Buhl charts the progress of the little white ball. The article appeared in the Hamburg weekly, *Die Zeit*.

It is hard to understand why golf now should be so popular. There are no signs of an infectious enthusiasm and the wish to get out in the sun does not explain why people want to play it.

The public is immune to its attractions. Golf is not a mass sport and does not attract a lot of public interest.

The fascination with the golf ball, almost 46 grams in weight, is in fact limited. In Germany, golf cannot be compared with football, tennis or Kegeln, a form of indoor bowls played in pubs. Nor can it be compared with swinging on parallel bars, wind surfing or horse riding.

The general judgment on the game is that it is a variation on physical exercise for a specialist few, who are notoriously arrogant and rich.

It is obviously an absurd game, an activity which non-sportsman Winston Churchill described as attempting to get a small ball into a small hole with equipment that was quite unsuitable for the task.

The game could be written off but recent events prevent us from doing that. The urgency of the problem is not obvious to a wide public. But enlightenment is not necessary, for golf fans already dare to speak of a golf frenzy in this country.

The symptoms are difficult to recognise. Silence surrounds the germinating, new German passion for the sport.

This discretion is comprehensible. Who readily admits to his weaknesses? Who would confess that he could forget family, job, obligations and pain in the 18-hole paradise?

Who can explain why he has become a slave to the click of a well hit ball that soars through the sky (rarely) to its goal, the hole in the green?

It is no longer a secret that many are addicted to knocking the plastic golf ball property to where it should go. The epicentre of the enthusiasm for golf is to be found close to golf courses, either the ones that already exist or that are planned. But the enthusiasm has an influence far beyond that.

More and more people are learning that golf is, indeed, not a sport for millionaires, Anglophiles or the old and infirm.

Until now people in high-income groups have been entertained the most by the golf bug. The bug is especially common in the big cities, but small towns and people living in the country are not immune to it.

The statistics reveal facts that are not widely known. Over the past 20 years the number of golf courses in the Federal Republic has trebled, from 77 to 235, and the number of players has jumped from 18,400 to about 100,000.

These figures do not take into account non-registered golfers who do not

have a local golf club nearby or do not have the cost of membership or both. There could be thousands of players in this category.

The golfing minority has always provided material for a good tale. The golfer clichés do not apply in this country. Aged gentlemen in plus-fours and with monocles do not tramp about golf courses in the Federal Republic nor are ladies dressed in tweeds and sticklers for etiquette common.

In line with general sociological developments the people on the course and on the greens are classless, almost.

Still golf is an expensive sport. To lay out an 18-hole golf course costs a good two million marks and up-keep accounts for about DM200,000 per year. Golf is not a modest venture. Private clubs have to demand high membership fees from their members to meet these costs.

Admittance fees and contributions can cost as much as a VW Golf car, excellent for typical Teutonic jealousy towards the upper classes.

Just like tennis twenty or thirty years ago golf suffers from the stigma of being a sport for elite idlers.

Even Bernhard Langer, the Federal Republic's best golfer, has had to dispose of attacks on the sport because of its class image, although his father is a bricklayer.

This opens the way to the German tendency to fundamentals. The experts have been busy themselves for some time with the main question: should, can, will golf become a popular sport? This is a nonsensical question. Thirty-two million golfers worldwide cannot be wrong.

On the worldwide popularity list the sport comes after volleyball, basketball and football. It will certainly get more popular in this country. The needs and mentality of the German guarantees that.

In countries where people have more and more leisure time, the demand for

Playing more golf would help farmers cut production and reduce the food mountains

meaningful activity grows. Does this label apply to golf?

According to a survey conducted by the Empir Institute, Bielefeld, there is no doubt about this.

Eight per cent of citizens in the Federal Republic said they would like to wield a club. People are getting more and more inclined to sports that "demand controlled behaviour, self-control, and physical distance from opponent or co-players." What can people ask for more than the game of golf?

Being out in the open air for hours on end meets German demands very well. George Bernard Shaw causes many a smile. He described the game as an unsuccessful walk. But golf is more exciting than hiking and more refreshing than jogging.

There is in golf the rich green of the fairway, the quiet and the constant challenge. The game demands patience and skill. Where can these be bettered than on a golf course?



The need for perfection is tailor-made for the German disposition. People who are fixers-inventors, technically inclined, seem predestined to drive and putt.

Other national characteristics cast a shadow over the Federal Republic's idea of golf. It is a sport with many rules. The British, who created golf, are sufficiently relaxed to forget them—should the situation arise.

But how do the Germans, sticklers for the pedantic, cope with the complicated rules? How should a people, who value collective discipline far more than personal discipline, summon up the necessary nerve to make the golf course a testing ground of their strengths?

Anyone who compares playing behaviour here with the cooler golfing in many other countries should reflect again.

Golf in any case does not just concern the physical. There is something to be said about every new player. It is quite wrong to assume that golf has anything to do with old-fashioned civility.

Spanish philosopher José Ortega y Gasset, a keen observer of the golf scene, came near to the truth when he wrote: "The appearance of a couple in a glade 'cchills' unfailingly an 'image' of Adam and Eve before the Fall of Man — just a little before."

He did not want to awake any sexual associations. Sex? There is nothing more irrelevant where golf is concerned.

It is more likely that Gasset knew from experience full of suffering, the vice every golfing couple, whether man and wife, male or female, indulges in after a round of golf. That is the analysis of the game.

Anyone who is a non-golfer would be driven mad by the narcissistic and detailed post mortems.

It will take some time before the Germans are completely up to their necks in golf. Currently the pre-requisites are lacking — there are not enough opportunities to play.

Most clubs are crowded. There are tail-backs on the fairways just like on the motorways, and there is no relief in sight. There are about 100 courses planned but they are coming into being at a snail's pace.

This is partially due to a lack of cash. Private means have to be found when high construction costs hold things up.

The German Cities Conference, only recognised golf as a sport worthy of support a couple of years ago. Since then more public funds have been allocated for constructing courses in Bavaria, Baden-Württemberg and Rhineland-Palatinate. Now there is the threat of a north-south divide in the development of golf.

Extremely stubborn officials and local governments have done a lot to delay the golf boom. On average 42 branches of local government have to give their approval before the first sod for a new golf course can be turned.

The loudest protests come from conservationists. They are right if planned golf clubs try to expand in the most

beautiful corners of the countryside, to conservation areas or holiday resorts.

The ecologists are always wrong when they become ideological.

Blinkers impede the vision if opponents of golf in this country see a once more of gentlemen and servants on the one hand and players and other exploited caddies and club-house servants.

Farmers, who have been involved in the game of golf, think quite differently. They have earned well from leasing their acres to the clubs and have proved their incomes by maintaining work on courses and as club caretakers.

Nature conservationists are no more single-minded when they consider golf courses as a danger to the environment.

It has long been a fact that golf courses harm nature far less than conventional farming. Fifteen to twenty times more chemicals are used on maize or wheat fields than on golf courses.

Greens are treated with fertilizers, but they only account for about three per cent of the whole golf course.

Harassed by butter and grain subsidies the European Community Commission sees a chance of relieving the

Under its spell, the unimportant becomes important and vice versa

pressure on the environment and on the back on over-production with golf.

Financial incentives to farmers to build golfing facilities are being ventilated. They could lead in the long-term, at least some acres used for agriculture being put out of production.

The fanatical objections of the nature conservationists have often had golf course planners in the Federal Republic have become much more environment-conscious.

It has been realised in Britain for long time that a golf course, if laid out in the right place, offers a habitat for endangered fauna and flora. This is sailing home in this country.

The latest rules for the construction of golf courses should take the wind of the rebelling conservationists' sails.

Golf must lose its horrors for the bitterest opponent of the sport when golf course planning gives equal weight to planting for the lay-out of the course and ecological considerations.

A lack of space should not hinder the popular appeal of the sport. As long as cows are entitled to more of nature than people and so long as topsoil is used for meaningless over-production so sport should be found for golf courses in locations close to major cities.

Golf has a lot of catching up to do. Every twelfth American is a golfer, in Sweden one in 23 and in Britain one in 37. It is hard to understand why in the Federal Republic only one in every 100 plays the game.

The golf growth rate in the Federal Republic is making up for lost time. Businessmen would go green with the game's growth rate of over 10 per cent per year. The game is becoming more and more attention as a business as well.

It gives jobs to many in villages as are dying. It encourages public relations advisers to cities to show off the quality of schools, the arts scene, top-quality restaurants but also the

Continued on page 15

■ FRONTIERS

Military computers: line goes dead on the Hanover hacker

A systems manager of a Californian computer centre discovers an invisible intruder probing for information. Instead of cutting the trespasser off, he leaves the systems wide open and watches what happens. For nearly a year, the course of the hacker is plotted. One day a piece of bait is dangled. It contains juicy information, but it is false. The hacker bites — and bails out. Time to act while the lines are open. They lead across the Atlantic to Germany. The authorities in Germany are alerted. They trace the open line to Hanover and find the hacker at home with a personal computer. He has gained access to military and industrial computers in the United States and Japan, but under German laws, there isn't enough evidence to prosecute. How much did he get to see? Was he working on his own for the kicks? If so, how did an American arms dealer get to know about the false information in the bait? Ruth Kuntz-Brunner looks at the case of the Hanover hacker for the Hamburg Sunday paper, *Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt*.

Every 14 days, Cliff Stoll, a 37-year-old systems manager of the Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory in California, would ring the FBI to ask about what was happening in the David Keller case: Stoll had spent months hunting down Keller (not his real name) and had found him 10,000 kilometres away in the Lower Saxon city of Hanover. What had Keller done? He had used a home computer and a telephone to hack his way into American military and industrial computer networks.

The 24-year-old had gained access to at least 50 computer systems. Some examples: the national computer security centre in Fort Mead, Maryland, which is a data-protection facility; the SRI network information centre in Omaha, Nebraska; an air force control system in El Segundo, California; a naval coastal system command centre; the Optimum data base of the Pentagon; the gas turbine laboratory in Pasadena, California; the Boeing security computer in Seattle, Washington; the Anniston army depot in Alabama; and a system at the Fort Buckner American army base in Okinawa, Japan. But only Keller himself knows exactly where and for how long he operated before he was discovered.

The story of the discovery, the investigation and then the identification of the Hanover hacker illustrates the complexity and the stakes in the high-tech world as well as the flashing interests of the main players.

In August 1986, Stoll discovered that an unknown person was using his laboratory computer. His laboratory is a sister facility to the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory, where SDI (Star Wars) and nuclear arms information is processed. The computer systems of both, in addition to the computer systems of many universities and research institutions in many parts of the world are interconnected in networks. Berkeley is also connected to MILNET, which is connected to military and armaments computers. These worldwide networks enlarged the field for the Hanover hacker.

Stoll's detailed surveillance showed that Keller hacked into about 450 different military computers. Stoll said that in one system, the hacker had got through a security hole which gave him the status of a super user, a privilege which got him access to all stored data which he could then either read or alter. Super users were able to take advantage of all the computer's technical resources.

Stoll explained how the hunt went: "Instead of shutting the doors on the bastard, we followed him day and night for a year. Because he was a super user, there was a certain risk: at any time, he could have allowed our system to collapse. Our pursuit had to remain secret."

But within a few weeks, some information did filter out to John Markoff, a reporter with the *San Francisco Examiner*. He wrote an article about a hacker with the pseudonym Pink Floyd. Three weeks later, a trespasser with this alias got into the Berkeley computer. Stoll thinks that this was someone else, one of the *Examiner's* readers.

The hunted hacker used the trial-and-error method. Stoll explained: "He goes along the street and pushes every doorbell. He doesn't use force. If he can't get through the front door, he tries the back door or the side window. If he has no luck, then he goes to the next house."

Stoll and his assistants followed close behind. He was helped by experts from a system called TYNNET. When the unwitting guest gained access to the computer, he looked for catchwords like SDI or NUCLEAR.

The shortness of the hacker presence — always just a few minutes — was the biggest problem. But nevertheless, using lures with false information, they managed to assemble more information about him.

A breakthrough came when they went across the Atlantic and followed him through into the Datex-P-Netz of the German Bundespost (post office): the Bremen University computer was being used by the hacker as a springboard to America. The FBI told the German authorities what was happening. This brought in the Bremen state prosecutor. Now the hacker was being watched by both Stoll and his team plus the Bundespost.

Then a lure was dangled: a false SDI project. This caught the hacker's interest so much that he remained at the screen until he was traced through the Bremen computer to his home in Hanover.

After this, the laboratory received a request for more information about the non-existent project from an arms dealer in Pittsburgh who was known to have ties with Saudi Arabia. It

is still not known where he got the information about the project from. In June 1987, the Bremen state prosecutor, Hans Georg von Bock und Polach, had the hacker's workplace and home both searched at the same time by a special BKA (Bundeskriminalamt, or criminal investigation police) squad. The search was made under a law governing illegally obtaining data. His machine was confiscated, but lacking alone is not an offence and there was insufficient evidence in West Germany to prosecute him. Behind this decision not to prosecute was the recommendation of the Bundestag legal committee which said that over-criminalisation should be avoided. It said hackers who simply hurried their way into systems and did not obtain data illegally should not be prosecuted.

After the search of the Hanover hacker's apartment, the FBI maintained a news blackout.

Stoll tired of the silence surrounding the affair and he wrote an article about it for the May edition of a computer magazine. Afterwards, news of the hacker's doings appeared everywhere. *Time* and *The New York Times* among others began research into the case.

A lot remains unknown. What, for example, are the chances of foreign powers getting information through their secret services hacking into computer systems? The American newsagency, UPI, reported that the Reagan administration was worried about this very point.

At a Press conference, Stoll's chief, Leroy Kerth, challenged the assertion that the Berkeley laboratory had access to secret information. There were conflicting statements from American air force and NASA representatives. It has been said that the material viewed was not actually secret.

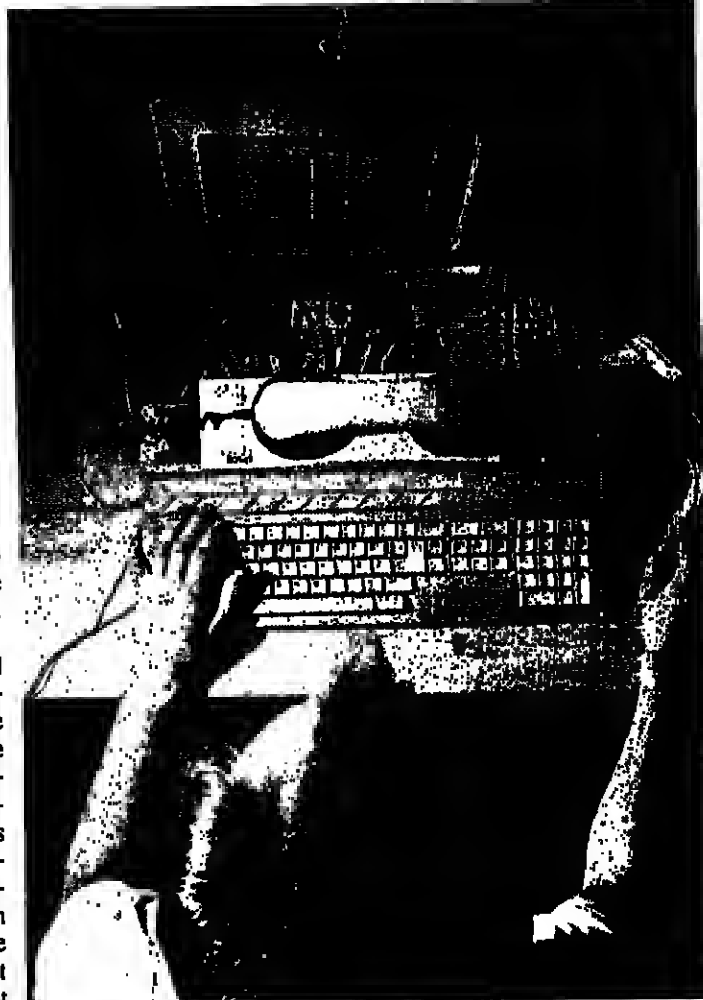
The problem is that it is not known exactly which data the Hanover hacker had access to. In the meantime, Clifford Stoll has been enjoying the publicity. He has burst into the limelight, built up by the media as the victorious hacker hunter in jeans and training shoes.

Continued from page 14

golf course. Under the spell of swinging at the ball the important becomes unimportant and vice versa.

Sharp-sighted layman Grasset saw traces of the relationship between golf and Dharma, a Buddhist expression for the goal of life, in his essay on the sport.

He observed, quite rightly, that "You see that in this magic world of golf, to drive a ball with a club is highly gratifying and is sufficient to justify life."



How much did he see? Was he acting alone? (Photo: argus)

But the real questions are yet to be answered. How many hackers apart from the Hanover hacker have gained entry to strategically important computer systems?

Have hackers altered programmes without anyone knowing (for example assessments about enemy troop movements)?

How near, in fact, does this episode relate to the film, *War Games*, in which a young hacker set in action the war programme in the Pentagon computer in order to impress his girlfriend?

The Hanover hacker is keeping silent. Before the BKA raided his home and removed his computer for eight months, he was a regular at a pub where hackers gather and where tips and tricks are exchanged and stories about hacking adventures are exchanged.

Some know the American computer farewell, "You are welcome," from their own experience.

There are many reasons why there are hackers. Hacking gives kicks. It boosts self esteem. Hackers see themselves as doing something against anonymous, threatening forces in the world.

The Chaos Computer Club, a hacker club in Hamburg, sees the world as being more and more automatised and controlled by strange forces through machines, computers and robots.

A report in a hacker publication talks about the feelings of insurrection against authority and allegiances. "Above all, the new communication technologies are causing structural change and making deep inroads into the way people live." The effects were often exceedingly involved and difficult to fathom. Hackers show up the holes in the system. Thomas Betb is professor of informatics at Karlsruhe University. He says it is necessary to analyse the work of hackers, otherwise computers and systems could not be improved. He says more money should be spent on research into computer security.

On the question of money. The affair has had a financial advantage for the Hanover hacker. He has been offered a new job with double the pay.

Ruth Kuntz-Brunner
(*Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt*, Hamburg, 15 May 1988)